

JOURNAL OF

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UKRAINIAN  
STUDIES

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Summer-Winter 1991

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Volume 16, Numbers 1-2

Summer-Winter 1991

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## SPECIAL ISSUE UKRAINIANS IN CANADA

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The *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* is published semiannually in the summer and winter by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta. Annual subscription rates are \$16.50 (\$1.05 GST incl.) for individuals and \$21.50 (\$1.40 GST incl.) for libraries and institutions in Canada. Outside of Canada annual subscription rates are \$15.00 for individuals and \$20.00 for libraries and institutions. Subscribers outside of Canada should pay in US funds. Cheques and money orders are payable to the Journal of Ukrainian Studies. Please do not send cash.

The *Journal* publishes articles on Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Canadian studies. It also publishes discussions, book reviews, and journalistic articles of a controversial or problem-oriented nature. Ideally, those wishing to submit articles should first send a letter of inquiry, with a brief abstract of the article to the editor at CIUS, 352 Athabasca Hall, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, T6K 2E8. Fax (403) 492-4967.

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Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life*.

Printed in Canada.



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## Editor's Note

This special issue of the *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* marks the one hundredth anniversary of Ukrainian Settlement in Canada in 1991-1992. As is fitting for such a significant milestone, the focus of the volume is historical, although it does not, except as background, concern the pioneer immigration itself. Events of that period in Ukrainian Canadian history have been well documented, both within and outside the community, and have attracted the attention of numerous special interest commentators as well as professional and popular historians. Such attention testifies to the crucial role the experience of their turn of-the-century peasant immigrants plays in Ukrainian Canadians' self-image, particularly as a founding people of Western Canada. It also testifies to acknowledgement in mainstream circles that Ukrainians were indeed participants in Canadian nation building, even though they were not always warmly received.

In contrast to the pioneer era, the interwar period in Ukrainian Canadian history has been curiously ignored. Perhaps this neglect reflects nothing more than the difficulty of those who followed to compete, in the imagination of the public and historians alike, with those who came first. But the neglect perhaps also reflects the nature of the experience of Ukrainians in Canada between the wars, and an unwillingness to probe issues perceived as being painful or divisive. Besides the socioeconomic and psychological impact of the Great Depression, there were increasing tensions as the community fractionalized along often acrimonious political and religious lines, and as Ukrainian Canadian youth sat uneasily between two worlds.

The essays presented here begin to address the issues of the interwar years. Some—like Serge Cipko's examination of Ukrainian emigration patterns, Myron Gulka-Tiechko's study of Canadian immigration policy, and Jars Balan's account of the Ukrainian Canadian stage—have parallels with the research conducted on the preceding pioneer period. Others—like Bohdan Nebesio's discussion of the first Ukrainian-language feature film produced in Canada, K.W. Sokoloyk's look at the role of sport, and Myron Momryk's profile of Ukrainian Canadian volunteers in the Spanish Civil War—move into new areas. Victor O. Buyniak's sketch of the interwar career of Canadian Slavist, Constantine Henry Andrusyshen, Oleh W. Gerus's more detailed analysis of the role played by Reverend Semen Sawchuk in shaping the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, and Alexandra Kruchka Glynn's revelations concerning the background to the

publication of Vera Lysenko's *Men in Sheepskin Coats*, reveal the potential of biography. Gerus and Glynn both also raise sensitive points—the heated and personalized Sawchuk-Swystun controversy, and the mental anguish experienced by Lysenko due to the reception of her book. In their examination of Polish-Ukrainian relations and Ukrainian Canadian crime, respectively, Anna Reczyńska and Gregory Robinson continue this willingness to confront directly subjects that are not always comfortable. The last selection in the volume, Leonid Leschenko's survey of archival sources in Ukraine, demonstrates the possibilities that the new political reality in the homeland open for researchers into the history of Ukrainians in Canada.

Frances Swyripa  
Guest Editor

# In Search of a New Home: Ukrainian Emigration Patterns Between the Two World Wars

*Serge Cipko*

The objective of this article is to begin to account for Ukrainian emigration patterns—the numbers of individuals involved, their geographical origins, and their targeted destinations—between 1919 and 1939. The fact that Ukrainian emigration history during this period has received relatively little scholarly attention reflects in large part the problem with sources that statelessness imposed. Most Western Ukrainian emigrants travelled with Polish, Romanian, or Czechoslovakian passports that asserted their citizenship as opposed to their nationality. A minority of Eastern Ukrainians left their homeland legally in possession of Soviet papers, but the great majority were political refugees following the Bolshevik Revolution who carried passports stamped by the League of Nations, which often declared their nationality as Russian. These conditions, compounded by record-keeping practices in the emigrants' countries of origin, not only make the recovering of interwar Ukrainian emigration patterns difficult but also encourage the researcher to approach the data with healthy caution. On the basis of the available evidence, however, it can be convincingly argued that both seasonal migration and permanent resettlement abroad involved more people than traditionally thought. Contrary to popular Ukrainian Canadian understanding in particular, it is equally clear that it was not Canada or even North America but South America that attracted the greatest number of emigrants.

## *Eastern Ukrainian Refugees*

While the bulk of interwar emigrants were Western Ukrainians seeking new economic opportunities, a significant number were Eastern Ukrainians fleeing their homeland with the collapse of the Ukrainian People's Republic (Ukrainska Narodnia Respublika—UNR) and Soviet

victory. Traditional estimates of perhaps 100,000 of these political refugees by the early 1920s<sup>1</sup> may be much too low. The figure appears to include only those linked in some way with the UNR and its government-in-exile headed by Symon Petliura until his assassination in 1926, and perhaps followers of the earlier German puppet regime of Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky. Sporadic but concrete references to Ukrainian refugees by the League of Nations would seem to support this, since Petliura's was the only group directly involved in the Ukrainian independence struggle, politically or militarily, to be ever identified separately from Russians.<sup>2</sup> UNR sympathizers undeniably constituted the more visible and identifiably Ukrainian refugee component but they represented only one segment of the movement. A second stream consisted of Ukrainians associated with General Wrangel's army that had fought for the White cause, often on their territory.

League of Nations sources estimated that in 1920 some 60,000 of Petliura's followers—50,000 military personnel and 10,000 civilians—were stranded in Poland. Relocation, primarily to Czechoslovakia and France, reduced that number to 35,000 by 1923; the Ukrainian community in Czechoslovakia, for example, already augmented by students coming to study, temporarily mushroomed with the arrival of between 16,000 and 20,000 veterans who had fought against Poland.<sup>3</sup> Romania also attracted refugees associated with the UNR. The International Committee of the Red Cross contended that perhaps 60,000 exiles from the former Russian empire lived there in 1921; according to the League of Nations, 15,000 Ukrainian and Russian refugees remained there three years later.<sup>4</sup> Romania, like Poland, served as a haven for Ukrainians fleeing the Soviet regime for years to come; a major influx of 2,000 refugees in spring 1932, for example, coincided with the collectivization campaign in Ukraine.<sup>5</sup> Resettlement from all three major reception centres for refugees identifying with the UNR (Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Romania) began early. France was a popular choice for many; others chose Belgium; the remainder formed scattered pockets elsewhere in central and western Europe.

Ukrainian refugees associated with Wrangel represented a less distinguishable group, consisting of draftees into the White armies when these overran Ukrainian territories and including a heavy contingent of Kuban Cossacks. Sir John Hope Simpson, who conducted a survey of postwar refugees, obliquely acknowledged their existence in a single reference. "It is not possible," he wrote, "to say what part of the military and civilian evacuation from the Crimea following the defeat of Wrangel was Ukrainian, but after its distribution throughout the Balkans, certain differences arose within the ranks of the refugee community."<sup>6</sup> Differ-



ences among the nationally diverse White refugees did indeed surface with the passage of time. In Bulgaria, where one observer claimed that up to 90 per cent of emigrants from the former Russian empire were ethnically Ukrainian (although not necessarily nationally conscious), Ukrainians maintained an active organizational life distinct from the Russians.<sup>7</sup> In Egypt, another asylum for émigrés from the former Russian empire, Ukrainians formed independent organizations well documented by local community leaders even though the League of Nations did not find any Ukrainians among the several thousand “Russian” refugees it reported there.<sup>8</sup> Exactly how many Ukrainians were among an estimated two million refugees from old Romanov territories by November 1920—or among the 400,000 to one-half million who remained spread over twenty-six European countries in 1930—is unknown. But the Bulgarian and Egyptian examples suggest that the number has been seriously underestimated and the Russian figure correspondingly inflated.<sup>9</sup>

As already intimated, the Ukrainian refugee resettlement process frequently involved several stages. Experienced farmers dispersed in the Balkans, for instance, attempted to establish themselves in agriculture wherever they could: from farming colonies established in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, many Cossacks moved to France, often driving taxis in Paris or working for Renault or Citroen until they accumulated enough money to buy their own farms. In France, some refugees looked overseas for land, especially to countries in South America as Canada and the United States actively discouraged indigent eastern European immigrants.<sup>10</sup> Despite such restrictions, the Red Cross assisted 30,000 refugees from the former Russian empire to move to the United States in the 1920s, including members of a significant but shrinking Ukrainian community in China; Canada also accepted a modest number of Ukrainian and Russian refugees destined for prairie farms.<sup>11</sup>

South American governments anxious to colonize unsettled regions of their countries more than compensated for North American indifference or resistance to the plight of the refugees. Colonization agents from Brazil, Argentina, and Paraguay freely agitated among the refugees in Europe and found willing recruits. The League of Nations negotiated with several European and South American governments to assist in resettlement. Russian émigré leaders themselves responded to the yearning for land among their countrymen; they not only discussed the prospects of relocation to South America in the émigré press but also set up colonization agencies such as the Russian Emigration Association for Settlement in South America centred in Paris.<sup>12</sup> It was to groups like this that Ukrainian refugees turned in the absence of their own organizations.

Sometimes they were disappointed. One man related how in the early 1930s he and other Ukrainians in France were coaxed by the White general, Belaiev, who "promised much but delivered nothing," to abandon their jobs and move to Paraguay. Nevertheless, the newcomers persevered and a farming colony was founded in the district of Sandova near the southern border town of Encarnacion, where refugees from Ukraine proper settled alongside Kuban and Don Cossacks.<sup>13</sup> An experiment by one General Pavlychenko, identified as a Kuban Cossack, to recreate a Cossack *stanytsia* or village by the Apurimac river in the tropics of Peru, was sensationally featured in the Ukrainian press (perhaps because of its exotic appeal and an imagined parallel with the Zaporozhian Sich after its uprooting) but proved less successful. As the venture soured so did the media coverage, and the experiment was largely abandoned by 1930, a year after it began.<sup>14</sup>

In the early 1920s many Ukrainian refugees travelled with documents issued by the government-in-exile of the UNR; these papers were widely accepted internationally until recognition of the new Soviet state gained momentum, although France continued to regard them as valid until 1926. In Poland Ukrainian refugees received either League of Nations Nansen certificates or the "*Titre d'identité et de voyage*," preferring the latter because they did not have to be classified as Russians. After 1928 all documentation provided to Ukrainian refugees arbitrarily listed "Russian" as their nationality. This official suppression of their ethnic origin has made it extremely difficult to plot their migration paths, although it is virtually certain that the "Russian" intake of many overseas countries included significant numbers of Ukrainians. The available data suggests that Ukrainians' refugee experience encompassed a broad geographical area, literally spanning continents, and that they established no one major centre as their Russian counterparts did in Paris. Their dispersal, as well as their failure to be clearly identified as Ukrainians in their travel documents, helps to explain why ultimately the Ukrainian refugee community was less influential and projected a weaker profile than the émigré Russian community.

## *Western Ukrainian Emigrants*

The Eastern Ukrainian refugees who resettled overseas were soon joined by or encountered on arrival a new wave of emigrants from Western Ukraine augmenting colonies established before the war. But this renewed movement abroad was preceded by a modest reverse trend among the earlier generation of Western Ukrainian emigrants. Prior to 1922, when the borders of the new states governing Western Ukraine—Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia—were defined and emigration



resumed, re-emigration appears to have been more important, especially to Eastern Galicia in Poland. Between mid December 1919 and mid January 1920 alone the General Consulate of the Polish Republic in Montreal issued 1,300 passports to individuals, including 930 Ukrainians and 230 Poles, who intended to return home.<sup>15</sup> The high re-emigration rate among Ukrainians in 1919, three times that of Poles, has been attributed to Ukraine's struggle for independence and the desire to return to a liberated homeland. When it became clear that Poland would be the new, internationally recognized master of Galicia, re-emigration declined steadily until bottoming out in 1922.<sup>16</sup>

### Romania

Of the states governing Western Ukraine between the wars, Romania was the most precise in distinguishing Ukrainian emigrants from others, although the data is incomplete for some years (see Table 1). Ukrainians may also have been included in the category "Russians," who otherwise emigrated on a scale out of proportion to their overall numbers as reported in the official census. Whether for political reasons or because of problems in gathering information, in both Bukovyna and Bessarabia, but especially the latter, Ukrainians would appear to have been underreported and Russians overreported. According to the 1930 census, ethnic Romanians formed 56.2 per cent of Bessarabia's population, Ukrainians 11.0 per cent, and Russians 12.3 per cent; by 1941 the Romanian and Ukrainian figures had risen to 65.6 per cent and 16.4 per cent, respectively, while the Russian figure had dropped to 6.0 per cent.<sup>17</sup> It is entirely possible that ethnic birth and/or death rates changed in the intervening decade, that individuals reclassified themselves, or that census takers manipulated their data. But if the 1930 and 1941 wartime proportions are accurate—and given that Ukrainians and Russians emigrated in approximately equal numbers in the official records and had somewhat similar emigration patterns—departing Ukrainians had to have been recorded as Russians in the emigration statistics.

Although data does not exist for the early 1920s, in 1926 Brazil was the principal receiving country for Ukrainian emigrants from Romania, favoured over Canada by more than two to one. Given Canada's reluctance to accept new immigrants in light of postwar recession, and antipathy towards eastern Europeans in particular, it is altogether conceivable that the "Brazilian fever" which had gripped the Galician peasantry in the mid 1890s recurred in the early 1920s, but as a phenomenon associated more with Bukovyna and Bessarabia. Bukovynian Ukrainians had settled in Brazil prior to the war so the country was not

totally unfamiliar. In the second half of the 1920s, once Canada relaxed immigration controls and even encouraged Ukrainian settlement, the Dominion replaced Brazil as the most popular destination. The Depression forced Canada to close its doors, but Ukrainian immigration from Romania resumed on a smaller scale when restrictions were again eased in the late 1930s, although Paraguay now emerged as a serious competitor. Emigration to Argentina and Uruguay in the 1920s was not insignificant, it seems, and it would be logical to conclude that emigration patterns in adjacent territories in neighbouring Poland influenced the choice of South American countries other than Brazil. An increasingly isolationist and nativistic United States introduced immigration quotas in 1924, allotting Romania a mere 603 persons annually, so that the republic was an unrealistic option for Ukrainians from Bukovyna and Bessarabia seeking a fresh start overseas. (See Table 1).

Land shortages in both Bukovyna and Bessarabia, aggravated by grants to veterans and disabled soldiers from outside the area,<sup>18</sup> lay behind the Ukrainian exodus and go far towards explaining why the emigrants chose the destinations they did. Not only were the possibilities for land acquisition abroad widely reported in the Western Ukrainian press, especially *Ukrainskyi emigrant* in Lviv, throughout the interwar years; emigration agents working on behalf of both Brazil and Canada also toured Romania promising discontented Ukrainians land. That Ukrainians listened is illustrated by the district school inspector who complained in a 1927 official report about the increased movement to Brazil and Canada from localities in Bukovyna and Bessarabia following bombardment with the agents' propaganda.<sup>19</sup>

For their part, some local Ukrainian newspapers frowned upon large-scale emigration and the intensity of the agitation in its favour. *Ridnyi kraj* in Chernivtsi, the Bukovynian capital, rebuked those agents who descended on Ukrainian districts and incited desperate villagers to uproot without a clear picture of what work, if any, they would find in Brazil. The newspaper stressed that the South American nation was not like Canada or the United States, and painted it as a backward country teeming with dangerous reptiles and other wildlife. "There is nothing in Brazil for our people," it said, "let it collapse without us."<sup>20</sup> The role of such reports in deterring people from Brazil and influencing the marked swing towards Canada in the late 1920s is impossible to determine. Nor is it clear whether the Romanian government itself introduced measures to staunch the flow to Brazil. What is certain is that the thrust of the unofficial emigration campaign appears to have centred exclusively on Canada and Brazil. At the same time, Romania did raise the matter of emigration with other countries overseas. In 1929, for example, *Ukrainskyi*

TABLE 1  
UKRAINIAN AND RUSSIAN EMIGRATION FROM ROMANIA

	1926	1929	1930	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938
Argentina	U 63 R 26	171 86	63 50	9 11	- 3	1 -	- 1	3 3	6 3	- 7
Brazil	U 1539 R 2313	20 31	36 10	3 -	- 2	3 1	3 8	2 -	14 5	- 1
Canada	U 715 R 566	996 229	713 119	27 9	12 10	24 4	18 8	15 8	40 17	54 62
Colombia	U - R -	1 -	1 -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	2 -
Cuba	U - R 2	1 1	1 -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
Mexico	U 2 R 14	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
Paraguay	U - R -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	3 -	- -	36 56	25 59

		1926	1929	1930	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938
Peru	U	-	3	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
United States	U	6	11	38	8	1	3	3	1	5	1
	R	8	28	19	-	1	1	1	3	3	7
Uruguay	U	20	131	66	16	2	2	2	-	1	-
	R	6	78	33	-	-	-	8	-	-	1
Venezuela	U	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	R	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTALS		5280	1795	1151	83	31	39	56	35	186	225

Source: *Anuarul Statistic al României* (Bucharest) for 1926 and 1929-40. An additional 61 Ukrainians and 50 Russians emigrated to South America and 3 Ukrainians to Egypt in 1930; an additional 12 Ukrainians left for South America in 1931.

*emigrant* reported discussions to settle two thousand families (approximately ten thousand persons) on free land in Honduras; the newspaper anticipated that land-starved Bukovynian Ukrainians would like to participate in the venture.<sup>21</sup>

Unlike Poland and Czechoslovakia, Romania does not seem to have specifically promoted temporary work-related migration to other European countries; it tended instead to direct what seasonal labour there was to other regions of Romania. Trends in two Bukovynian villages suggest that between the wars emigration overseas appealed both to a minority of those wanting to improve their livelihood and to the more affluent. While some 50 individuals left Kamianka for Canada, Brazil, and Argentina, 230 were recruited for seasonal work elsewhere in Romania. In Putyla, the poorest able-bodied persons were the ones most likely to engage in seasonal labour in the Romanian lumber industry, while those somewhat better off (and able to afford the steamship ticket) tended to move further afield to the Americas.<sup>22</sup>

### Czechoslovakia

Ukrainian emigration from Czechoslovakia, namely the region of Transcarpathia, was not substantial and represented only a fraction of the exodus that occurred before 1914. The data for measuring the magnitude of the movement and its distribution is also regrettably sparse. Czechoslovakian statistics, available for only part of the 1920s, record emigration from the country as a whole by year and destination, but as a rule do not differentiate the emigrants by nationality. References to "Ruthenians" are limited to a single block period, the years 1924-28, when 2,236 Ukrainians were said to have emigrated to various European countries and an additional 2,913 to destinations overseas.<sup>23</sup> If these figures are compared with emigration statistics for Transcarpathia for approximately the same period (1922-28), the picture of Ukrainian emigration patterns becomes clearer. Although not all those departing from the region were Ukrainians, they would likely have constituted the majority since Ukrainians formed 70 per cent of Transcarpathia's population. Between 1922 and 1927 a total of 4,784 persons left Transcarpathia for overseas: 2,391 to the United States, 1,481 to Canada, 776 to Argentina, 58 to Central America and Cuba, 66 to other South American countries, and 4 to miscellaneous destinations. In 1928 a further 1,490 persons emigrated from the region: 792 to Canada, 205 to the United States, 421 to Argentina, 10 to Brazil, 10 to Central America and Cuba, 51 to other South American countries, and a single person elsewhere.<sup>24</sup>

Also useful are the records of the receiving countries, especially the

United States and Canada. American records show that 633 "Ruthenians" were admitted to the United States between 1921 and 1924,<sup>25</sup> although again it should be borne in mind that Ukrainians from Czechoslovakia might also have been misclassified as Russians. Historian Paul R. Magocsi contends that 7,500 "Carpatho-Rusyns," his term for the inhabitants of mainly Ukrainian territories centred at this time in Czechoslovakia, left Europe for the United States in the period 1920-38, fully 87 per cent of them before 1931.<sup>26</sup> Canadian statistics after 1925, which distinguish Ukrainian immigrants according to birthplace, show 3,859 Ukrainians arriving from Czechoslovakia in the fiscal years 1926-40, the majority of them before 1930.<sup>27</sup> Both the Canadian and the American totals exceed those compiled by Czechoslovakian statisticians, although the time frames do not sufficiently coincide for any direct comparisons. A 1982 study claiming that 40,000 Ukrainians emigrated to Canada from the Lemko region of Poland and the Priashiv and Transcarpathian regions of Czechoslovakia between 1925 and 1930 alone must be discounted; one can only assume that the figure is a misprint and should read 4,000, which would be more realistic.<sup>28</sup>

Local histories of Transcarpathia hint at the emigration patterns of Ukrainians from Czechoslovakia. For instance, in the village of Nelipyne, where 47 per cent of the population was reportedly landless, a mass exodus of the rural poor in the mid 1920s went to Brazil. In the village of Pylypets seasonal migration was more important, directed to the coal mines of Belgium, France, and the United States. Residents of Dubrynych and Dibrova also left for Belgium and France but preferred Latin America as their overseas destination.<sup>29</sup> The important relationship between seasonal migration and permanent relocation abroad remains elusive, hampered by a dearth of source material.

## Poland

Emigration from Poland represented by far the most important interwar movement of Western Ukrainians. Moreover, the Polish government actively influenced emigration patterns—by implementing an emigration policy that had explicit ramifications for Ukrainians, and by entering into agreements with other states. Ukrainian community activists also reacted to the flight of their compatriots and alerted potential emigrants both to the implications of leaving the homeland and to their options abroad. International political developments and changing immigration regulations in various would-be receiving countries constituted a final influence on the course of Ukrainian emigration.

Polish studies of interwar emigration from Poland identify unprece-



dented population growth, a flawed land-tenure system (with constant subdividing of plots among an ever increasing number of heirs), the absence of agrarian reform, and industrial stagnation unable to absorb the jobless as the primary factors inducing a mass movement to other countries. Exacerbating the situation was the massive repatriation of Polish "citizens" from abroad, surpassing a million and a half individuals by 1928.<sup>30</sup> While acknowledging that these conditions existed, Ukrainian scholars and community commentators have added a fourth factor—calculated policies of the Polish regime designed to undermine the Ukrainian minority—that drove Ukrainians to emigrate in large numbers. For example, the estates of the Orthodox church, expropriated in 1925, were redistributed among Polish colonists not local Ukrainians with the result that 300,000 Poles received 800,000 hectares of land in Western Ukraine.<sup>31</sup> The issue of evaluating emigration within the context of broader state strategies towards Ukrainians became more controversial after the violent Polish "pacification" of Ukrainian villages in the summer and autumn of 1930 in reprisal for growing militancy against Polish rule. One contemporary observer interpreted the pacification, together with the importation of Polish colonists into Ukrainian territories, as part of an attempt to create a homogeneous Polish society and restore historical Poland from the Baltic to the Black seas.<sup>32</sup> Writing to the Polish consul-general in Montreal in 1937 to air several complaints, a senior Canadian immigration official endorsed the Ukrainian view of exploitative and discriminatory Polish policies:

Ukranian [sic] farmers who have land and want to sell it and leave Poland are encouraged to do so by Poland. The government sets the price and sees that the amount is very little more than will pay passage and allow \$1,000.00 to be taken out of the country. They also see that the land sold by the Ukranian farmer falls into the hands of a Polish settler. By one operation they therefore get rid of a Ukranian, replace him on the land by a Pole, fix the price that the Ukranian gets for his land and by routing this business into the hands of the Polish Line get back from the Ukranian a considerable part of the price of his land by selling him transportation on the National Line.<sup>33</sup>

Regardless of whether or not Poland was genuinely concerned about the plight of the peasantry and the unemployed, and regardless of whether or not it wished to rid itself of a problematic minority by exporting the problem abroad, a consensus existed that emigration could effectively mitigate admitted widespread rural poverty. Emigration was in fact seen to have multiple benefits, not the least of which was reducing Poland's labour surplus while increasing its material wealth through the money the emigrants remitted. Seasonal migration, besides also yielding much-

needed cash, was held to have an added benefit in exposing migrants to a "higher level of culture" so that they returned to Poland in an "enlightened state" and better prepared for economic integration.<sup>34</sup> The permanent resettlement abroad of whole families, who took all their assets with them, was less desirable, and in 1936, as emigration began to assume greater importance with the decline of seasonal migration, Poland limited the amount of capital a family could remove from the country. Nevertheless, there were compensating factors to permanent emigration: hopes of increased trade, a "Polish" presence abroad, and the release of pressure on land in the countryside.

Management of the emigration process involved an intricate interplay among legislative, diplomatic, and other official and non-official agencies. These included the State Council, which functioned as a consultative organ of the Ministry of Labour and Social Assistance; the Parliamentary Commission for Emigration Affairs; the State Emigration Bureau, initially more concerned with repatriation; and, after the Bureau's abolition in 1932, the Inter-Ministerial Commission for Emigration which promoted its activities through the Polish Emigration Syndicate. An institute to study emigration and colonization affairs was established in 1926, and beginning in 1929 world congresses of Poles abroad were held in Warsaw. In addition, a number of voluntary associations dedicated to emigration matters received some support from the government. Article 201 of the 1921 Polish Constitution guaranteed the country's citizens freedom of emigration, but a 1927 decree empowered the Ministry of Labour and Social Assistance to halt emigration to certain countries in order to protect "the life, liberty, and economic and moral interests of the emigrants." In 1928 a person was forbidden to emigrate unless he or she had a definite job waiting and sufficient means to settle in a new country. Recruitment of individuals for paid seasonal work or colonization schemes was subject to approval by the Ministry of Labour and Social Assistance or the Ministry of Agrarian Reform on the recommendation of the State Emigration Bureau.<sup>35</sup>

Throughout the interwar period, but particularly in the 1920s, seasonal migration within Europe drew Polish citizens by the hundreds of thousands. For Ukrainians such a work rhythm was no novelty. According to one source, seasonal migration from Western Ukrainian territories to Germany alone had involved some 75,000 people annually between 1907 and 1912. The number of Ukrainians engaged in temporary work in Germany had reached 114,253 in 1913, when they made up the majority of labourers from the Austrian crownlands.<sup>36</sup> Ukrainian seasonal migration to France was also significant in the prewar years. A 1908 agreement with the Federation of Agricultural Societies of Northeastern France



provided for a preliminary 1,000 labourers from Galicia; recruitment continued beyond this initial target so that by World War One there were 20,000 Galicians distributed over a third of the territory of France.<sup>37</sup> Between the wars Poles dominated seasonal migration from Poland, while Ukrainians favoured permanent resettlement abroad. As one historian explained: "The national minorities, for whom conditions in Poland were none too happy, were more inclined to emigrate to countries where they could settle for good, whereas the Polish majority preferred those from which they could easily return."<sup>38</sup> Nonetheless, a not insignificant number of Ukrainians also moved temporarily to countries in Europe where they could find work. Both Germany and France, the major reception centres for seasonal migrants from Poland, had suffered substantial population losses during the war and were thus anxious to import manpower for reconstruction. The French, for one, were allowed to open hiring offices in Poland in the 1920s, although both France and Germany, for economic and political reasons, took steps to rid themselves of their migrant populations in the 1930s. Farm work was especially attractive from the migrants' point of view; unlike coal mining or heavy factory work (and even seasonal agricultural labour in Canada or Argentina), it employed women as well as men, and a family could double its earnings.<sup>39</sup>

The resettlement of Polish citizens in South America, especially Brazil, where many Poles and Ukrainians already lived, figured prominently in interwar Polish emigration policy. In the early 1920s, observing the rapid rise of repatriation to Poland from North America, the Polish consul-general in Montreal, J. Okolowicz, proposed that those wishing to return be encouraged to relocate in the state of Parana, Brazil, instead, to bolster the local Polish (and Ukrainian) presence. While this never evolved into formal policy, in 1924-25 the Polish government began to take an active interest in Latin America—notably Brazil, Argentina, and Chile—for wage-earning opportunities and land settlement. Mexico and Peru were initially seriously considered also, but the colonization experiments the Polish government supervised in the latter failed. As the Great Depression forced Canada to cut immigration drastically, the Inter-Ministerial Commission for Emigration focused almost exclusively on South America, favouring those areas with existing Polish and/or Ukrainian communities. In the late 1930s, for example, agreements were reached with Paraguay to settle Polish citizens (the overwhelming majority ethnic Ukrainians) in Itapua bordering on Misiones, and with Bolivia and Ecuador to found Ukrainian colonies specifically.<sup>40</sup>

By the mid 1920s, when Canada began to take an interest in immigration from Poland, it was mainly the country's Ukrainian citizens who

responded, especially after the Railways' Agreement implemented in fall 1925 removed restrictions on eastern Europeans. Until then, "the absence of both an active promotional campaign and any organized network to assist prospective immigrants in obtaining sponsors in Canada, militated against a large in-migration of settlers."<sup>41</sup> The Ukrainian Canadian community played a vital role in bringing its compatriots to Canada. The most active group was St Raphael's Ukrainian Immigrants' Welfare Association, founded in Winnipeg in 1925, which collaborated closely with the Ukrainian Emigrant Protection Society (UEPS) in Lviv. When Canada ceased being a viable option in the 1930s, St Raphael's followed the example of its counterpart in Lviv and shifted its attention to Latin American countries that might possibly be persuaded to accept those Ukrainians who could no longer gain entry to Canada.<sup>42</sup>

The voluntary associations concerned with emigration matters that sprang up in Poland tended to be organized according to nationality, with the Poles and Jews leading the way. Prior to the First World War, the St Raphael Galician and Bukovynian Emigrant Aid Society, founded in Lviv in 1907 as a branch of the Austrian St Raphael Society, had served Ukrainian interests. Its organ, *Emigrant*, which appeared between 1910 and 1914, covered both seasonal migration within Europe (particularly to Germany, Denmark, and Sweden) and overseas emigration (especially to Brazil and Canada). In the 1920s such endeavours were resumed. *Ukrainskyi emigrant*, published intermittently from 1923 initially in runs of 3,200 copies (reduced to 2,000 in the 1930s), evolved into the official organ of the UEPS and is an indispensable source on Ukrainian emigration from Poland between the wars.

The UEPS was formed in 1924, apparently because of concern about the flow of Ukrainians to Latin America,<sup>43</sup> although the society ironically later promoted the area. Endorsing the activities of the UEPS were leaders of the influential educational-cultural organization, Prosvita, and the Greek Catholic hierarchy; its president was Mykola Zaiachkivsky, a director of the retail cooperative, Narodna Torhivlia. Shortly after it came into being, the UEPS informed Canada that it was interested in that country as a primary destination for Ukrainian emigrants, and described itself to Canadian immigration officials as a non-profit organization financed by voluntary subscriptions.<sup>44</sup> While the latter may have been true at the outset, the UEPS did appeal to the Polish government for financial assistance and eventually received some support, although the amount was meagre in comparison with the sums given to the much better funded Polish organizations. In its inaugural newsletter the UEPS maintained that its policy was not to encourage emigration but to see that the movement which did occur was properly managed, that emigrants

were advised as to the best destination, and that they received protection against exploitation by unscrupulous agents. It also printed a questionnaire, perhaps never distributed, designed to determine the root causes of emigration.<sup>45</sup>

By 1930 the UEPS was an affiliate of the Geneva-based International Conference of Organizations for the Protection of Migrants, and maintained offices in four districts in Galicia: Lviv, Ternopil, Stanyslaviv, and Sambir.<sup>46</sup> It offered a wide range of services, furnishing prospective emigrants with information on Poland's emigration laws, opportunities abroad, the intended country of settlement, and procedures for obtaining travel and other documents. It also assisted with the specifics of contracts, rentals, inheritance laws, loans, and application forms. This anxiety over Ukrainian emigrants leaving their homeland without guidance was understandable. Many UEPS staff members were old enough to remember the "Brazilian fever" of 1895-96, when Galician villagers, ignorant of the conditions that awaited them, had departed for the jungles and plantations of South America only to meet a tragic end.<sup>47</sup> Everyone's worst fears seemed to be confirmed when emigration in the early 1920s again assumed something of a chaotic character and emigrants were lured to countries about which they had little, if any, accurate information.

While North America had been the principal destination for Ukrainian emigrants before 1914 under liberal entry laws, between the wars the United States in particular tightened access. With alternatives for overseas relocation often unclear, and employment opportunities in the countries accepting immigrants unknown, many potential emigrants simply stayed home.<sup>48</sup> Others, determined to leave, assessed their options carefully before undertaking such a major step as uprooting and re-establishing abroad. Yet others, albeit a minority, reasoned that if they could not enter the United States through the front door they should try their luck through the back entrance. A number of Ukrainians were misled to believe that they could scramble illegally into the United States by way of Cuba or Mexico, taking advantage of the fact that these countries, unlike the US, did not require an affidavit from a close relative who was already a citizen. There are few concrete references to the some 2,000 Ukrainians from Poland and Czechoslovakia duped by the promise of decent wages to move to Mexico sometime in the 1920s. While many of the immigrants were reduced to walking around in rags on empty stomachs and sleeping under the open sky, at least one man remembered his years in Mexico before relocating to Argentina rather fondly. He had had the opportunity to translate Ukrainian songs into Spanish, including the entire opera *Zaporozhets za Dunaïem*, which he claimed was performed several times in Mexico before being staged in any other Latin American country.<sup>49</sup>

Cuba was an entirely different case from Mexico. So popular did the country become that the Western Ukrainian press coined the phrase "Cuban fever," drawing attention to the movement's supposed resemblance to the "Brazilian fever" of the late nineteenth century.<sup>50</sup> Some 5,000 individuals (including 1,500 Ukrainians) from Poland, joined by scores of hopefuls from elsewhere in eastern and central Europe, were lured there between 1923 and 1927 by unscrupulous traffickers in souls who were not above stranding their human cargoes in a distant corner of the island or simply throwing them overboard. Those in Cuba who managed to relocate to either North or South America included a boat-load of Galicians arriving in Montreal in 1923.<sup>51</sup> Three years later the Polish government introduced measures to curb any further emigration to Cuba; its efforts were apparently not successful for in 1933 *Ukrainskyi emigrant* once again complained of immigrants being lured to Cuba on false pretenses.<sup>52</sup> To deal with Ukrainians already in the country, Poland proposed moving those who no longer wished to remain to Haiti, but pressure from Ukrainian communities in Canada and Western Ukraine saw a number of them transferred to Canada instead. Then in 1937, in a sharp and inexplicable reversal of its earlier stance, Poland toyed with the idea of initiating a settlement in Cuba in the vicinity of Nueva Gerona, where Ukrainian families were known to be living, keeping gardens and orchards and raising poultry.<sup>53</sup>

In an attempt to prevent spontaneous mass movement to countries where emigrants would be especially vulnerable, the UEPS, its organ *Ukrainskyi emigrant*, and the Western Ukrainian press in general, routinely assessed and reassessed opportunities abroad. Sometimes these Ukrainian bodies appeared to echo the official Polish position. At one point, *Ukrainskyi emigrant* reported that unscrupulous agents were agitating in Volhynia and Polissia on behalf of Peru and Brazil, even though the State Emigration Bureau had said it would not be recruiting from these districts for settlement in those countries. But when Ukrainian interests were at stake, the newspaper carefully distanced itself from the government and refused to lend its influence to help popularize Polish policies. Thus in 1927, for example, it announced that the UEPS opposed the emigration of Ukrainians to Sao Paulo coffee plantations which Poland was then promoting.<sup>54</sup>

Press reviews of the options overseas were frequently mixed, could change over time, and pitted one country against another. In 1927, for instance, the Volhynian *Narodnyi visnyk* compared Canada and Argentina, then the two most popular destinations for local emigrants. It remarked on high unemployment in Canada due to too many immigrants for the jobs available and suggested that prospects were better in Argentina,



particularly the northern frontier provinces of Misiones, Chaco, and Formosa.<sup>55</sup> *Ukrainskyi emigrant*, however, was the prospective emigrant's major source of information and advice. Also in 1927, it informed readers that entry into the United States was next to impossible and into Canada expensive, but that Argentina merited serious consideration. Land existed for purchasing and there was the added bonus of free rail transportation, seeds for planting, and wood for building. In 1929 *Ukrainskyi emigrant* advised that opportunities for homesteading were less favourable in Uruguay (where land was expensive) than in Brazil but that Uruguay nevertheless needed workers for cattle slaughtering, sheep shearing, construction, public works, and domestic service; domestics were especially desired and women could expect to earn fifteen to twenty pesos a month. At the same time, the newspaper cautioned that only those with family and friends already in Uruguay and able to offer temporary support should consider going. Coverage of Paraguay was much less positive, and *Ukrainskyi emigrant* recommended that emigration be limited to individuals with enough funds to maintain themselves over an indefinite period as land was expensive and Ukrainian farm labourers could not compete with local workers. In the early 1930s both Argentina and Brazil were deemed good places to go as land was plentiful and relatively cheap, Ukrainian communities already existed to assist the newcomers both emotionally and materially, and Argentina had specifically announced new regulations (1933) giving priority in admission to immigrants who wished to settle on the land. Uruguay declined as a potential destination because of new restrictions, while Paraguay and Bolivia were at war. Finally, the newspaper remarked that letters received from immigrants in Brazil sounded less desperate than those from Canada.<sup>56</sup>

In 1935 the UEPS presented a balance sheet on the status of both emigration and seasonal migration. It noted that wage-earning opportunities anywhere were now limited, with the partial exception of France. Canada no longer encouraged the settlement of farm families and it cost thousands of dollars to set up in agriculture there. The situation was better in Argentina, where one could begin farming with only \$500, and in Brazil, where land was even cheaper and the annual quota for Polish citizens favoured farmers. The United States would admit only the wives, husbands, and children of American citizens; Canada accepted relatives of immigrants already in the country in addition to farmers possessing \$1000 with which to establish themselves on the land. Admission to Brazil required an affidavit and 1,200 zloty, admission to Argentina either an affidavit or 2,300 zloty; the money in both cases was earmarked for the purchase of land.<sup>57</sup>

As the movement to South America accelerated in the late 1930s,

especially to Paraguay, the issue of emigration became more controversial. Under the headline "Don't Abandon the Homeland," a 1936 article in *Novyi chas* argued that the exodus destroyed local social cohesiveness because the emigrants' land was often bought by outside speculators at low prices and the departure of so many individuals deprived the community of sorely needed resources and energy.<sup>58</sup> When Ukrainian emigration to Paraguay assumed a mass character in 1938, *Novyi chas* hardened its opposition. It pointed out that in neighbouring Romania only the country's national minorities (and not ethnic Romanians) received permission to emigrate, in a deliberate attempt to strengthen the position of the Romanian majority. Although conceding that no similar policy officially existed in Poland, the newspaper insisted that the practice there was the same—that the campaign for overseas emigration had been conducted chiefly in Ukrainian and Belarusian areas, particularly Volhynia, where propaganda depicted Paraguay as a paradise. At the same time, those who heeded the call were not the poor, but the healthy, the diligent, and the relatively prosperous, the very persons who might reasonably have been expected to take a more responsible attitude towards the welfare of their community.<sup>59</sup>

The rising anti-emigration sentiment that these two examples express should be viewed within the context of the conviction that Polish emigration policies were designed to weaken the Ukrainian element. In 1938 Polish authorities exerted intense pressure on the Orthodox church in Volhynia, Polissia, and Kholm, destroying churches and attempting to Polonize and Catholicize the local residents. The possibility of a link between these attacks and Polish emigration propaganda in these areas cannot be excluded. Aware that a segment of the population was determined to relocate abroad under any circumstances, the UEPS was often more realistic than the Ukrainian press and drew attention to the possibility of land settlement in South America, particularly those regions in Argentina and Brazil where Ukrainians had long resided.<sup>60</sup>

What impact the cumulative reports in the Western Ukrainian press had on prospective emigrants is difficult to ascertain. Undoubtedly, knowledge of the countries that individuals contemplated making their new homes would have been enhanced and the ultimate decision on uprooting might reasonably have been swayed by what was read in the pages of community newspapers. The more intimate letters received from relatives already abroad, together with government policy and the agitation of emigration agents, also of course influenced the decision-making process. How (and if) prospective emigrants responded to the circulation of news about opportunities overseas can be determined to some extent from requests for advice sent to the UEPS between 1928 and

1935. Categorized by country, these requests were recorded in *Ukrainskyi emigrant*.

The data is revealing, pointing to shifts in emigration patterns within specific time frames. In 1928 (see Table 2) Canada was the subject of most

TABLE 2  
ENQUIRIES BY COUNTRY HANDLED BY THE UEPS, 1928

Written		Verbal	
Argentina	84	Argentina	54
Abyssinia	2		
Belgium	1	Belgium	3
Bosnia	3		
Brazil	21	Brazil	10
Canada	1023	Canada	723
		Colombia	1
Congo	1		
		Cuba	1
Czechoslovakia	6	Czechoslovakia	2
		Denmark	1
France	96	France	332
Germany	169	Germany	83
Honduras	1		
Mexico	2		
Paraguay	1		
Peru	1		
Romania	4		
Soviet Union	9	Soviet Union	6
Ukrainian SSR	10		
United States	88	United States	6
Uruguay	1		
		Elsewhere	1
TOTALS	1523		1223

enquiries; South America hardly figured; and France and Germany, the recipients of ongoing seasonal migration, had a significant number of requests for information. By 1933 enquiries about Canada and Germany had declined markedly, those about France less so, and South America (especially Argentina) now attracted the bulk of the attention, a trend that persisted into 1935 (see Tables 3 and 4). The change in emphasis reflected

**TABLE 3**  
**VERBAL ENQUIRIES BY COUNTRY HANDLED BY THE UEPS, 1933**  
**(653 unclassified written requests excluded)**

Argentina	185
Belgium	81
Brazil	98
Canada	95
Cuba	10
Czechoslovakia	11
Denmark	3
France	280
Germany	6
Mexico	16
Netherlands	1
Palestine	7
Paraguay	50
Peru	4
Romania	10
South America	1
Soviet Union	10
Tunisia	1
Ukrainian SSR	19
United States	68
Uruguay	69
Yugoslavia	4
Others	7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1036</b>

prospective emigrants' own perceptions of where the potential opportunities lay at a particular moment, taking into account revisions in the immigration policies of countries traditionally open to Ukrainian settlers, Poland's own emigration policy, and the coverage given to emigration developments in the Ukrainian press. At the same time, the fact that the authors of these requests asked about countries which were never featured in local emigration propaganda or the discussions in the Ukrainian press on settlement possibilities abroad—countries like Abyssinia and the Congo—suggest that alternative sources prompted some enquiries. Finally, the fact that these requests were made at all demonstrates that many would-be emigrants, although by no means a majority of those who actually left, were turning to outside agencies such as the



TABLE 4  
WRITTEN AND VERBAL ENQUIRIES BY COUNTRY  
HANDLED BY THE UEPS, 1935

	First half	Second Half
Africa	18	6
Argentina	800	117
Asia	16	
Belgium	2	1
Brazil	136	29
Canada	270	82
Chile	2	
Cuba	1	
Cyprus		2
Czechoslovakia	8	
Denmark	3	4
France	230	55
Germany	19	5
Great Britain		1
Hungary		3
Latvia	1	
Mexico	5	4
Palestine	119	7
Paraguay	50	18
Romania	2	
Soviet Union	8	
Spain		2
United States	97	26
Uruguay	5	
Yugoslavia	6	
Others	233	253
TOTALS	2031	615

UEPS before embarking on their move.

If prospective emigrants' requests for information are an accurate guide, the most striking feature of the above tables is the variability in emigration patterns throughout the period in question. But the requests refer only to anticipated or hypothetical destinations, and do not indicate if emigrants ever changed their minds. For some, the goal was simply to relocate, and views as to where that might be were not necessarily fixed. Incidents before departure, during the journey, or after arrival could alter

earlier perceptions or plans, so that the man with the bad experience in Canada moved to Argentina, or the Volhynian who initially intended to go to Uruguay ultimately chose Alberta when negative reports from former villagers in the South American country clashed with his sister's enthusiastic letters from Canada.<sup>61</sup> The frequency of relocation from one country to another is an important but little known phenomenon. In the case of Canada, the United States was the magnet. This movement had begun in the prewar years and peaked between 1914 and 1918 when 5,032 "Ruthenians" and 11,571 "Russians" went south of the border; it lost momentum in the early 1920s but picked up again in 1924 when 1,838 "Ruthenians" were admitted to the United States from Canada.<sup>62</sup>

The final issue to be examined in Ukrainian emigration from interwar Poland concerns the numbers involved. Contemporary Polish statistics did not identify emigrants by nationality and only with 1927 did they differentiated immigrants by religious affiliation. Over the next twelve years 115,000 Greek Catholic and 87,500 Orthodox individuals emigrated (see Table 5).

TABLE 5  
EMIGRATION FROM POLAND, 1927-38

	Greek Catholic	Orthodox
Argentina	20,000	25,100
Belgium	200	-
Brazil	2,800	5,900
Canada	35,300	10,500
Estonia	-	2,200
France	41,600	3,400
Germany	7,900	200
Lithuania	2,100	29,300
Paraguay	900	8,800
United States	2,000	1,000
Other European	1,699	400
Other overseas	600	700
TOTALS	115,000	87,500

Source: *Mały rocznik statystyczny 1939* (Warsaw 1939), 53.

These figures are important for the present discussion both because most Ukrainians were either Greek Catholic or Orthodox and because Ukrainians constituted the overwhelming majority of adherents in the Greek Catholic church and a majority in the Orthodox church. In that the

sum of the two figures, 202,500 persons for a twelve-year period, is higher than the generally accepted interwar total of 196,500 Ukrainian emigrants from all Western Ukrainian territories, it must be assumed that this latter figure—if using the same sources as this paper—takes into account a sizable re-emigration.<sup>63</sup>

The problems posed by interwar Ukrainian emigration statistics, given the deficiencies in the data, can be illustrated using the Canadian example. The usually accepted figure for interwar Ukrainian immigration to Canada from all countries is 68,000, based on Canadian immigration records that listed Ukrainians according to the state where they last resided. There is a distinct possibility, however, that the undocumented figure of 73,000 cited in the *Encyclopedia of Ukraine* is closer to the mark. If, for example, one compares the number of "Ukrainians" with the number of "Poles" arriving in the years 1921-24, the Canadian total of 1,503 for the former would seem too low, and 16,616 for the latter, too high.<sup>64</sup> Except for 1921, when the Polish figures were much the larger, Polish statistics recording annual emigration to Canada and Canadian statistics recording annual immigration from Poland compare very favourably. It is unlikely, as one Polish scholar has suggested, that Ukrainians with their prewar emigration history and surge abroad after 1925 would have formed such a miniscule fraction of the Polish immigration to Canada in the early 1920s.<sup>65</sup>

## Conclusion

The foregoing discussion has demonstrated that not only is the data for interwar emigration from Ukrainian territories in Europe incomplete and often contradictory but that much accepted wisdom must be challenged. Through both critical use of traditional sources and the tapping of new ones, this paper has also demonstrated that obtaining a more accurate picture of the emigration process and factors involved is by no means an impossible task.

## Notes

1. See Volodymyr Kubijovyč and Vasyl Markus, "Emigration," in Volodymyr Kubijovyč, ed., *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 1 (Toronto 1984), 821.
2. See, for example, John Hope Simpson, *The Refugee Problem: Report of a Survey* (London 1939).
3. Ibid., 113-14, 361; also Vasyl Markus, "Bohemia," in *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 1, 256, which calculates some 20,000 Ukrainian émigrés living in the region at that time.

4. Simpson, *The Refugee Problem*, 413.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., 114.
7. *Ukrainskyi emigrant* (Lviv), 15 September 1931; and *Ukrainske slovo* (Buenos Aires), 15 December 1935.
8. Hryts Vozhok, *Ukraintsi v Iehypti* (Regensburg 1946). More elusive are sources dealing with the organizational efforts of Ukrainian refugees in Yugoslavia where the Kuban Cossacks were well represented; Simpson, *The Refugee Problem*, 420, 422.
9. Eugene M. Kulischer, *Europe on the Move: War and Population Changes, 1917-47* (New York 1948), 54; and Simpson, *The Refugee Problem*, 109.
10. Robert H. Johnston, "New Mecca, New Babylon": *Paris and the Russian Exiles, 1920-1945* (Kingston and Montreal 1988), 23.
11. On Russian emigration, see Paul Robert Magocsi, "Russians," in Stephen Thernstrom, ed., *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge, Mass., and London 1980), 887; and A. Balawyder, "Russian Refugees from Constantinople and Harbin, Manchuria, enter Canada (1923-1926)," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 14, no. 1 (1972): 24-9. On the Ukrainian community in China, see *Ukrainskyi emigrant*, 15 February 1929; Damon Orlow, *Red Wedding* (Chicago 1952), vii-viii, which identifies the author as one of the Ukrainians from China who relocated to the United States; Simon Karlinsky, "Memoirs of Harbin," *Slavic Review* 48, no. 2 (1989): 285; and Serge Cipko, "Ukrainians in Manchuria, China: A Concise Historical Survey," *Past Imperfect* 1 (July 1992): 155-73.
12. Simpson, *The Refugee Problem*, 479, 482; Johnston, "New Mecca, New Babylon", 81; and *Russkii v Argentine* (Buenos Aires), 17 February 1935.
13. *Ukrainskyi emigrant*, December 1935.
14. Petr Tikhonovich Korolevich, *Istoriia pereseleniia kazakov v respubliku Peru* (Novi Sad 1930), 5-6, 16; and *Ukrainskyi emigrant*, 30 July 1929, 15 July 1930. From a later period see Philip Longworth, *The Cossacks* (New York 1970), 317; and Robert C. Eidt, "Pioneer Settlement in Eastern Peru," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 52, no. 3 (1962): 265.
15. Edward Kolodziej, "Emigration from II Polish Republic to America on Background of Employment Seeking Emigration Process from Poland," in *Emigration from Northern, Central and Southern Europe: Theoretical and Methodological Principles of Research* (Cracow 1983), 175.
16. Jacob Lestschinsky, "National Groups in Polish Emigration," *Jewish Social Studies* 5 (1943): 106.
17. Volodymyr Kubijovyč and A. Zhukovsky, "Bessarabia," in *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 1, 213.
18. Myron Gulka-Tiechko, "Inter-war Ukrainian Immigration to Canada, 1919-1939" (M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1983), 56.
19. See Derzhavnyi arkhiv Chernivetskoi oblasti, fond 213, opys 1, sprava 3346.
20. *Ridnii kraj* (Chernivtsi), 7 February 1926.
21. *Ukrainskyi emigrant*, 15 November 1929.

22. V.M. Kurylo, et al., eds., *Istoriia mist i sil URSR: Chernivetska oblast* (Kiev 1969), 206, 467.
23. *Statistický přehled Republiky Československé: Sestavil Statní úřad statistický* (Prague 1930), 49.
24. *Ibid.*, 48.
25. Walter F. Willcox, ed., *International Migrations*, vol. 1 (Statistics) (New York, London, and Paris 1969), 486.
26. Paul Robert Magocsi, "Carpatho-Rusyns," in Thernstrom, *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, 202.
27. William Darcovich and Paul Yuzyk, eds., *A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1976* (Ottawa 1980), 527.
28. Michael Lukač, "Päťdesiat rokov vystahovalectva z Karpat do Kanady," in *Vystahovalectvo a život krajanov vo svete* (Matica Slovenská 1982), 303.
29. V.I. Bielousov, et al., eds., *Istoriia mist i sil URSR: Zakarpatska oblast* (Kiev 1969), 565, 365, 458, 60.
30. See, for example, Alfred Wielopolski, *L'Emigration polonaise en Amerique du Sud* (Fribourg 1931), 2-7; Zbigniew Landau, "The Employment-Seeking Emigration from the Second Republic, 1918-1939: Selected Topics," in Celina Bobinska and Andrzej Pilch, eds., *Employment-Seeking Emigration of the Poles World-Wide XIX and XXc* (Cracow 1975), 105; and Kolodziej, "Emigration from II Polish Republic to America," 168.
31. Gulka-Tiechko, "Inter-war Ukrainian Immigration to Canada," 49. See also, for example, Alexander Motyl, "The Ukrainian Nationalist Movement and the Galician Reality," *Meta* 1 (Fall 1975): 55; and Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine: A History* (Toronto 1988), 433.
32. V.J. Kushnir, *Polish Atrocities in the West Ukraine: An Appeal to the League for the Rights of Man and Citizen* (Vienna 1931), 48, 54-5. See also *Novyi chas* (Lviv), 10 April 1936, 9 April 1938.
33. F.C. Blair, cited in Gulka-Tiechko, "Inter-war Ukrainian Immigration to Canada," 292.
34. See, for example, Wielopolski, *L'Emigration polonaise*, 9.
35. *Ibid.*, 11-14; and Maria Teresa Koreywo-Rybczyńska, "Polityka Polski wobec emigracji w Ameryce Łacińskiej," in Marcin Kula, ed., *Dzieje Polonii w Ameryce Łacińskiej* (Wrocław 1983), 454-5, 462.
36. Kubijovych and Markus, "Emigration," 821; and Lestschinsky, "National Groups in Polish Emigration," 102.
37. Walter F. Willcox, ed., *International Migrations*, vol. 2 (Interpretations) (New York, London, and Paris 1969), 221.
38. Lestschinsky, "National Groups in Polish Emigration," 104.
39. Kolodziej, "Emigration from II Polish Republic to America," 177.
40. Koreywo-Rybczyńska, "Polityka Polski wobec emigracji w Ameryce Łacińskiej," 455-73.
41. Gulka-Tiechko, "Inter-war Ukrainian Immigration to Canada," 77-8.
42. *Ibid.*, 246.

43. *Ibid.*, 112.
44. *Ibid.*, 113.
45. See Derzhavnyi arkhiv Lvivskoi oblasti, fond 1, opys 33, ob zb 2448, ark. 26-7; and Wielopolski, *L'Emigration polonaise*, 11.
46. *Ukrainskyi emigrant*, January 1930.
47. For an overview of Ukrainian settlement in Brazil, see Serge Cipko, "The Legacy of the 'Brazilian Fever': The Ukrainian Colonization of Parana," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 11, no. 2 (Winter 1986): 19-32.
48. Landau, "The Employment-Seeking Emigration from the Second Republic," 106.
49. *Ukrainskyi emigrant*, 5 January 1928, 15 March 1928; and A. Likhniakievych, "Veseli opovidannia," *Dnipro* (Buenos Aires), 3 (September 1940): 17, 25.
50. Marcin Kula, "Polonia na Kubie," in Kula, *Dzieje Polonii w Ameryce Łacińskiej*, 128-56.
51. *Ukrainskyi emigrant*, 27 October 1927; and Gulka-Tiechko, "Inter-war Ukrainian Immigration to Canada," 74.
52. *Ukrainskyi emigrant*, 30 November 1933.
53. Marcin Kula, "La emigración polaca en Cuba en el periodo de entre guerras," *Revista de la Biblioteca Nacional José Martí* 22, no. 1 (1980): 137; and Gulka-Tiechko, "Inter-war Ukrainian Immigration to Canada," 173.
54. *Ukrainskyi emigrant*, 15 November 1927, 28 April 1929.
55. *Narodnyi visnyk* (Luts'k), 11 August 1927.
56. See, for example, *Ukrainskyi emigrant*, 1 April 1927, 15 May 1929, 30 December 1929, 1 January 1930, 30 June 1930, 15 August 1931, 15 February 1932, 30 April 1932, 30 September 1932, 15 October 1932, 30 November 1932, 30 June 1933.
57. *Ibid.*, September 1935, December 1935; also 15 May 1934.
58. *Novyi chas*, 10 April 1936.
59. *Ibid.*, 9 April 1938.
60. See, for example, *Ukrainskyi emigrant*, 15 August 1931, 30 April 1932, 15 February 1932.
61. See *Grooming the Grizzly: A History of Wanham and Area* (Wanham, Alberta, 1982), 557; and *Ukrainskyi emigrant*, 15 September 1933.
62. Willcox, *International Migrations*, vol. 1, 468.
63. Kubijovyč and Markus, "Emigration," 823. The sources on which the 196,500 figure is based are not provided but one assumes they would have been the available Polish, Czechoslovakian, and Romanian emigration data, perhaps augmented by North American immigration statistics.
64. Darcovich and Yuzyk, *Statistical Compendium*, 546-8.
65. Kolodziej, "Emigration from II Polish Republic to America," 170, 175.



# Ukrainian Immigration to Canada under the Railways Agreement, 1925-30

*Myron Gulka-Tiechko*

The most successful stimulus to interwar Ukrainian immigration to Canada, and to continental European immigration in general, was the Railways Agreement launched on 1 September 1925. Recognizing that an insufficient supply of economically suitable immigrants existed in Great Britain and other "preferred" countries, Ottawa granted the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) and Canadian National Railways (CNR) the right to recruit *bona fide* agriculturalists, farm workers, and domestics from "non-preferred" countries in central and eastern Europe. This decision to sacrifice cultural affinity for the economic needs of Canadian nation building in defining quality both dramatically boosted Ukrainian immigration to the Dominion and shaped its character. Numbers soared from 2,245 arrivals in 1925 to 9,534 in 1926; by 1928 the annual intake exceeded 16,000 with every indication that similar levels would obtain in the future. Although farm families profited from the scheme, the greatest beneficiaries were unattached males, and, to a lesser extent, single women. By the late 1920s, however, economic instability and indiscriminate recruitment had created an oversupply of farm workers, and public opposition to further continental immigration forced cancellation of the Railways Agreement in 1930. Ukrainians formed the largest nationality admitted under its terms; the 55,000 who came also represented 80 per cent of all interwar Ukrainian immigrants to Canada.<sup>1</sup>

After 1925 previously independent efforts by Ukrainians on both sides of the Atlantic to promote settlement of their countrymen in Canada became increasingly tied to the railways and their steamship allies. Cooperation produced mutually satisfactory results: thousands of impoverished Ukrainians were able to make a fresh start overseas; the CNR and the CPR boosted settlement activity and both short- and long-term revenues along their prairie branch lines. Yet the approach and fortunes

of the two companies differed in important respects that reflected the accidents of geography and events that gave one an initial (and permanent) advantage over the other.

### *Early Ukrainian Canadian Initiatives*

By 1924 Ukrainians in Canada were growing impatient with Canadian immigration regulations affecting their compatriots in Europe, particularly the stipulation that unattached men and women (including family heads who wished to earn money to finance the passage of their wives and children) had to be sponsored by a friend or relative already resident in Canada and engaged in farming. These concerns spawned several business/altruistic enterprises, largely unsuccessful, that attempted to facilitate movement to the Dominion.

One of the first ventures, the Ukrainian Immigration Bureau in Winnipeg, involved Professor Ivan Bobersky, representative of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic; Rev Dr Eugene Turula, a well-known composer; and Dr Iuris Stazkiw, also a recent arrival from Europe. These men vainly tried to interest the CNR and then the CPR in financing immigration officials and a pro-immigration tabloid in Western Ukraine. Commissions over the \$10,000 needed to repay a seed grant would be split between Bureau members and orphanages in Western Ukraine.<sup>2</sup> A second venture, the Ukrainian Immigration and Colonization Bureau under the former Manitoba MLA, Taras Ferley, was associated with the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church. It too failed to enlist the railways or government, and folded when too little commission-generating traffic left it unable to cover basic operating costs, let alone the more lofty goal of assistance to newcomers. The group's Orthodox ties were also a handicap in Greek Catholic Galicia, where the greatest immigrant potential lay.<sup>3</sup> The most successful community projects were tied to the Greek Catholic church and its bishop, Nykyta Budka, although an aborted profit-making scheme by a non-Ukrainian, Winnipeg lawyer Albert Dubuc, first stimulated Catholic interest.

Insisting that Poland would be eager to rid itself of "a big Ireland,"<sup>4</sup> Dubuc approached the Quebec government and the Soldier Settlement Board to place Ukrainian immigrants in rugged pioneer districts bordering the Canadian Shield and on abandoned soldier grants in Manitoba's Interlake region, respectively. Downplaying his own commercial interests and implying that he was little more than Budka's intermediary, Dubuc also asked Ottawa for money for medical examiners and fieldworkers in Poland to oversee the selection of suitable settlers. His Transatlantic Settlement Corporation of Canada—refused a federal charter, in part because of growing wariness about his claims to commitments in Quebec



and Manitoba—included four Ukrainians, all closely connected with the Greek Catholic church: Joseph Dyk, a lawyer; Volodislaus Biberovich, editor of *Kanadiiskyi ukrainets*, the church's official organ; Andrew Zaharychuk, a medical student; and Bobersky.<sup>5</sup> Over the course of 1924 only two families from Poland, ten people, arrived; Dubuc attracted more unfavourable publicity, and the group he assembled lost confidence in him and disbanded. At the same time the episode had served to focus the attention of prominent individuals in the Greek Catholic community on the need for immigration activity.

Despite the failure of private schemes like Dubuc's, several factors made 1924 a turning point in organized efforts to renew Ukrainian immigration to western Canada. First, faced with a dwindling supply of agriculturalists from preferred sources and thus loss of revenue and settlers for vacant lands, the railways and steamship companies extended their overseas activities into central and eastern Europe. They also began to recruit more colonization agents and interpreters from continental European groups represented on the prairies. The CPR, which already employed S.O. Charambura and Paul Gigeychuk as colonization representatives, fleshed out its Ukrainian staff by appointing George Kuzyk and Michael Gowda (a former dominion lands administrator) to its subsidiary, Canadian Pacific Steam Ships.<sup>6</sup> The CNR named Biberovich and Fred Taciuk to its land settlement and colonization branches; cultivated Budka; and worked with Dyk and Basil Baleshta, another lawyer, to get Ottawa to admit Galicians stranded in Cuba (a plan was slow to implement, apparently because of problems directing an earlier contingent to prairie farms). Without its own steamship line, the CNR forged ties with the CPR's rivals, appointing Ukrainians like Biberovich and Zaharychuk to their foreign traffic departments.<sup>7</sup>

Second, deciding to assess for itself the likely size and quality of any new movement to Canada from Western Ukraine, Ottawa dispatched Dyk to Galicia. In Lviv he met with the Ukrainian Emigrant Protection Society (UEPS) which announced its keen interest in Canada as a destination for Ukrainian emigrants. The society's elderly president, Mykola Zaiachkivsky,<sup>8</sup> also made several concrete suggestions. While respecting Canada's wish for agricultural workers and farm families, he asked that sponsors be arranged for individuals who did not have friends or relatives in Canada. He also requested Ukrainian-language pamphlets outlining entry requirements, opportunities for land settlement, and the state of agriculture and agricultural research in western Canada. A final recommendation called for both the Canadian government and the transportation companies to appoint officials and inspectors who could speak Ukrainian to prevent exploitation during either the journey or the

location process.<sup>9</sup>

Lastly, the activity of the Lviv group spurred Ukrainians in Canada to create a parallel body to solicit sponsors for prospective immigrants and help with their settlement. Budka's personal ties in Europe, and his experience with the St Raphael Galician and Bukovynian Emigrant Aid Society while a priest in Galicia before the war, proved an inestimable boon. After the collapse of Dubuc's scheme, Budka and the other Ukrainians involved decided to form their own society under the auspices of the Greek Catholic church. Public conventions in Saskatoon and Winnipeg in late 1924 approved the establishment of St Raphael's Ukrainian Immigrants' Welfare Association, limiting membership to Greek Catholics, and in early 1925 the first provisional executive was elected: Turula, president; Dr M. Mihaychuk (dentist), vice-president; Rev M. Hryhorychuk of Montreal, second vice-president; Dmytro Elcheshen (agronomist), secretary; Ivan Zarovsky (printer), treasurer; and Andrew Zaharychuk, Maria Koreska (teacher), Rev P. Oleskiw, and Kornylo Prodan (agronomist), members at large. Turula was soon replaced by Stepan Sawula, whose Winnipeg law office served as headquarters for the organization. It received a federal charter on 13 July 1925.<sup>10</sup>

So close was St Raphael's to the CNR that Elcheshen and Mihaychuk approached the railway's Winnipeg office for assistance in drafting their charter application.<sup>11</sup> The Ukrainians felt that cooperation with a major railway would solve transportation problems and facilitate the placement of farm labourers and settlers. The CNR saw cooperation with a Greek Catholic organization, when the vast majority of Ukrainians in Canada were Greek Catholic, as potentially highly profitable; it also hoped to increase traffic and settlement along its lines, concentrated as they were in the parkland belt where most Ukrainians already lived. The CNR adopted a proprietorial attitude towards St Raphael's, and in its annual report for 1924 claimed credit for the entire enterprise:

We succeeded in bringing together a number of the most prominent Ukrainians in Western Canada in order to form a branch of the St Raphael's Immigration Society, with Bishop Budka as President [sic]. This society has now been formed, the constitution being drafted in our office, and all steps taken up to this time with our approval....It can be taken for granted that the Canadian National Railways will get all the business originating through this society.<sup>12</sup>

In 1925 the CNR strengthened its ties with the Greek Catholic community, and with St Raphael's in particular, by hiring Biberovich to handle foreign traffic out of Winnipeg.

In mid 1925 two delegates from the UEPS in Lviv—Dr Volodymyr Bachynsky, its secretary, and Rev Josaphat Jean, Metropolitan Shep-

tytsky's envoy—visited Canada and toured the West at the expense of the CNR and the Cunard steamship line (which trusted that such generosity would be rewarded). The two men helped form local branches of St Raphael's—which would explore openings for farm labour and domestic placements, investigate farm lands for sale, and either generate sponsors for friends and relatives in the Old Country or provide applications for farm workers which St Raphael's would then try to fill.<sup>13</sup> Bachynsky's contacts with Canadian immigration officials earned St Raphael's recognition as a non-profit immigrant aid association, permitted to develop sponsors for Ukrainian immigrants and to place those who had no friends or relatives in Canada. It was authorized to bring in only agricultural workers and domestics, of good character and in good health, who had been cleared by a departmental examining officer in Europe and possessed valid passports. All applications had to originate in Canada and be processed by the Division Commissioner of Immigration in Winnipeg, after which the applicant would receive a letter of confirmation and St Raphael's could arrange for transportation and placement. But while St Raphael's thus acquired quasi-official status, the Department of Immigration and Colonization made sure it realized what it was undertaking:

It is understood that in view of the Department's willingness to consider the acceptance of applications bearing the endorsement of your Head Office in Winnipeg, without making a personal investigation in each case, your Society will use the greatest care in submitting only bona fide applications and it is further understood that your endorsement of any application means that your Society accepts responsibility for seeing that the immigrant is found suitable employment and in the event of a change being necessary within a year, you will find him other employment and guarantee that he will not become a charge on the public.<sup>14</sup>

Armed with government permission to forward applications and sponsorships independently, St Raphael's—still aided by the CNR—sent Sawula and Mihaychuk to visit and organize local communities in the West, working, like Bachynsky and Jean, through the clergy and leading citizens. After several meetings to ascertain settlement opportunities and labour requirements, Sawula and Mihaychuk concluded that St Raphael's should concentrate on Alberta, followed by Saskatchewan and then Manitoba. They also identified areas, in general more prosperous or reporting exceptional crops, that could use additional men the following season. In Vegreville they discovered that Ukrainian farmers were not satisfied with past recruitment efforts; while over two hundred Ukrainian hands had been ordered for 1924 only ten had arrived, and many would-be employers had been sent non-Ukrainians instead. "A large number of

other nationalities who came were not accepted by the farmers," Sawula noted, "as they insisted upon having workers of their own nationality."<sup>15</sup> St Raphael's representatives assured the farmers that every effort would be made to acquire the Ukrainians they wanted.

Thus by fall 1925 a Ukrainian community-based immigration association had emerged and been given considerable latitude in securing immigrants. St Raphael's immediately set about finding sponsors and preparing for increased Ukrainian traffic in 1926. But its plans were foiled as the Railways Agreement drastically altered the ground rules for continental immigration to Canada.

### *The Railways Agreement*

Already in early 1925, facing a shortage of farm workers from Europe and frustrated by the slow processing of applications from non-preferred countries, the CPR and the CNR had proposed that they become directly involved in recruiting agricultural workers in central and eastern Europe. Their transportation connections, they argued, made them logical practical choices, while their obvious interest in land settlement ensured selection of none but desirable classes.<sup>16</sup> Ever conscious of demands on the public purse, Mackenzie King's Liberal government responded positively. A railway monopoly to solicit agricultural settlers from continental Europe would eliminate the need to spend public funds on promotional work or to hire agents for abroad, leaving Ottawa responsible for only civil and medical inspectional facilities. Giving outside agencies control over recruitment in non-preferred countries would also enable the government to deflect from itself potential public criticism over renewed immigration. The principles of the Railways Agreement were negotiated on the eve of the 1925 federal election, apparently reflecting the Liberals' desire to inject an aggressive immigration plank into an otherwise lack-lustre platform. Although the actual document was not immediately publicized for fear of a nativist backlash, its objectives were seen as a way to bolster Liberal fortunes among New Canadians, and important segments of public opinion continued to identify large-scale immigration with economic prosperity benefiting all Canadians.<sup>17</sup>

The Railways Agreement did not become fully effective until 15 November 1925, to allow time to inform European governments of the new arrangement and to enable the railways to lay the base for their overseas operations.<sup>18</sup> During an initial two-year trial period, the railways agreed to recruit only the mentally, morally, and physically fit and vouch for their occupational suitability. Any immigrant who refused to engage in agriculture or domestic service for one year or who became a public charge within twelve months of arrival fell to the recruiting



railway to return to his or her native country. It was thus in the railways' interests for their certificate-issuing-officers in Europe to screen applicants carefully before granting the occupational certificates that guaranteed almost automatic clearance by the Canadian government inspectional officers. The government itself would henceforth solicit exclusively in Great Britain and other preferred areas; the CPR and the CNR would control recruitment in Finland, Switzerland, the Baltic states, Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, and Germany. Although the Soviet Union was excluded, the railways could arrange to bring Mennonites from southern Ukraine, whose ranks inevitably included a few Ukrainians and other Soviet nationals.<sup>19</sup> The origin of most Ukrainian immigrants repeated the pre-1914 pattern: the great majority came from Galicia (and other Ukrainian regions in Poland) with a smaller movement from Bukovyna (Romania) and a trickle from Transcarpathia (Czechoslovakia).

When Poland received notification of the Railways Agreement, its consulate in Montreal presented Canada with the rules under which individuals could depart. First, residents of eastern Galicia applying to a railway certificate-issuing-officer had to receive passport clearance from Polish authorities in Warsaw or Lviv. Then, to minimize exploitation, each steamship line permitted to operate in Poland could sign only a limited number of clients, and an agent could not take deposits until emigrants had their passports and permission to leave. Any company accepting ticket money from someone subsequently denied a railway certificate was to reimburse that person the equivalent of the rail fare between his or her home and Warsaw or Lviv. The consulate also pointed out that steamship companies working on behalf of Canadian railways were prohibited from openly soliciting immigrants. Information on conditions and opportunities in Canada would be made available but only through Polish government employment offices.<sup>20</sup>

The distribution, placement, and supervision of continental immigrants was shared between Ottawa and the railways in that the Department of Immigration and Colonization retained the right to set a quota of those it would place, undertook to settle an annual number of family units, and handled orders for domestics from urban areas in the West. The railways looked after the placement of farm labourers and domestics in rural areas as well as the settlement of low-capital farm families. Officials hoped to avoid destitution by demanding that families possess \$500 on landing, but this was only enforced for those settled by the Department. The CPR in particular protested that continental families would not come forth if they had to have such a prohibitive sum, most of it held on deposit until they were established on the land.<sup>21</sup> In

practice, the railways exercised their own discretion in certifying family units, but bore the consequences if a family admitted without the minimum capital became a public charge. Farm labourers, although restricted to arriving between 15 March and 15 August when work was generally plentiful, had to show only \$25 in cash on landing.<sup>22</sup> Domestics experienced the fewest capital restrictions but the closest scrutiny to ensure a definite destination or position waited. For both farm labourers and domestics, the pre-paid passage requirement could be waived if a friend or relative in Canada agreed to cover the cost through direct sponsorship.

Initial public reaction to the Railways Agreement and looming continental influx was muted. The *Montreal Gazette*, reflecting the interests of the transportation companies headquartered in that city, applauded the arrangement and argued that increased immigration would be good for the economy. The *Globe* in Toronto, in contrast, although favouring some cooperation between the government and the railways, chided Ottawa for turning direction of immigration policy over to the two companies.<sup>23</sup> But by and large, in a period of increasing prosperity, news of the potential arrival of more immigrants passed without notice.

### *The First Year*

The success of the Railways Agreement hinged heavily on the organizational strategies implemented on both sides of the Atlantic to recruit and handle the new traffic. The CNR dispatched Basil Baleshta from Canora, Saskatchewan, where he sold tickets and real estate primarily to Ukrainian customers, to Warsaw as its certificate-issuing-officer responsible for the Baltic states, Poland, and Romania. Alexander Kimak and then W.A. Drelenkiewicz served roughly the same area for the CPR.<sup>24</sup> As most eastern European countries forbade open solicitation of emigrants, these men cultivated informal ties with groups interested in promoting settlement in Canada. Foremost were steamship lines—the Canadian Pacific Steam Ship Company for the CPR, various British and European lines based in Hamburg and Danzig for the CNR—which often also appointed their own Ukrainian representatives in the prairie provinces.

In Canada both railways had specific bodies in place to receive and direct newcomers to private, although frequently undeveloped, lands along their lines—the Canada Colonization Association (CPR) and the Canadian National Land Settlement Association (CNR). The CPR chose to route Ukrainian arrivals through local colonization boards; the CNR preferred a direct settlement approach, using Ukrainian colonization representatives to supervise settlement through a network of commission



agents, initially connected with St Raphael's. Mandated to expand Ukrainian and other continental immigration, the Ukrainian employees or business associates of transportation interests urged Ukrainian farmers across the prairies either to employ a stranger from home as a farm worker or domestic or to sponsor friends and relatives. It soon became the patriotic duty of every farmer who could afford seasonal help to place a fellow national.

The CNR's efforts to establish contacts with influential members of the Greek Catholic church and St Raphael's proved highly propitious when the Railways Agreement supplanted the latter's tentative right to place immigrants independently. Its steamship connections also made the CNR the benefactor of working ties with the UEPS in Lviv, which had decided early in its existence to transport emigrants on the British Cunard line in the belief that such commercial links would advance Anglo-Ukrainian relations and ultimately Ukrainian independence.<sup>25</sup> The CNR's bond with the UEPS was reinforced when Professor Bobersky was appointed Cunard bureau head in Winnipeg while holding an advisory position on St Raphael's executive as the representative of the Lviv group.

Courting steamship companies doing business in non-preferred countries predated the Railways Agreement. In 1924 the CNR convinced the Scandinavian-American line to open an office in western Canada with Biberovich as its agent; when he moved to the CNR in November 1925, Zaharychuk replaced him.<sup>26</sup> The Scandinavian-American line was well situated to transport Ukrainian immigrants, regardless of limited experience in bringing people to Canada, because it sailed directly out of Danzig. This meant that emigrants leaving Poland, the Baltic states, or Romania could embark for Canada after a relatively short overland trek. Immigrants who chose Cunard or Canadian Pacific Steam Ship faced a longer journey and an extra international frontier travelling to Hamburg in Germany. The CNR confidently expected to capture 85 per cent of Scandinavian-American's business by virtue of its Winnipeg office.<sup>27</sup> Other shipping firms that established a presence in western Canada and worked with the CNR also appointed Ukrainian representatives. George Drobey, for example, became Winnipeg bureau head of the Red Star line. He also worked for the White Star and Dominion lines, and when they expanded their operations in March 1926 was transferred to Edmonton; another Ukrainian, Leonhay Sikevich, replaced him in Winnipeg.<sup>28</sup>

In fall 1925, reflecting its desire to control closely the distribution of arrivals, the CNR transferred Fred Taciuk, its Ukrainian colonization representative in Winnipeg, to Edmonton to coordinate Ukrainian and other continental placements through the Canadian National Land

Settlement Association. Taciuk was replaced in Winnipeg by Biberovich, who was put in charge of the distribution of farm help, steamship business, and settlement work among Ukrainians, Germans, Poles, and Russians.<sup>29</sup> Travelling extensively across the prairies to supervise settlement work, the two men relied for their initial contacts on St Raphael correspondents and committees emerging from the Bachynsky and Sawula tours of 1925.<sup>30</sup>

Although St Raphael's continued to aspire to the role of an independent colonization association,<sup>31</sup> it simply did not have the funds—nor the authority now that the railways officially oversaw the placement of most continentals. By late 1926, acknowledging the changed circumstances, it had largely withdrawn from direct placement in favour of supporting CNR initiatives through informational, educational, and other non-monetary forms of assistance. St Raphael's answered letters asking for help and published an annual almanac informing new arrivals about Canada; but beyond limited assistance to a small Ukrainian colony at Landrievie, Quebec, it essentially ceased independent colonization activity.

While the CNR preferred to oversee the distribution of immigrants directly, it did work with several ticket and real estate agents. For example, Nicholas Ostryzniuk, who had founded the Dominion Colonization Company in Edmonton with George Kuzyk in 1923, worked closely with both the CNR and Cunard.<sup>32</sup> Andrew Shandro, a former MLA and agent for the Edmonton Trust Company, also developed commercial ties with the CNR. His portfolio included 120 quarters of land east of Edmonton on which he hoped to place Orthodox settlers from Bukovyna. Shandro's plans were initially entwined with the short-lived St Nicholas Russian Greek Orthodox Immigration and Colonization Association, comprised of Russian Orthodox missionaries to whom many Bukovynian congregations remained loyal.<sup>33</sup>

In contrast to the CNR, the CPR worked through local and regional colonization boards, many of which it had organized and financed, in communities along its lines on the southern prairies. American, British, Ontarian, and Scandinavian settlers far outnumbered continental Europeans—mainly Mennonites, Hungarians, German Catholics and Lutherans, Czechs, and Austrians—in the region. The Mennonites and Germans each possessed government-recognized immigration associations able to sponsor co-religionists on a year-round basis; they worked closely with the CPR, which offered financial aid and settlement assistance along its lines.<sup>34</sup> As few Ukrainian colonies lay within CPR territory, the railway had put little energy into forming contacts on which now to build. Nevertheless, there were precedents. In 1919, for example, it had hired S.O. Charambura as a special colonization agent to scout Winnipeg,

Montreal, and other cities for Ukrainians to settle on brush-covered CPR lands near Pigeon Lake west of Wetaskiwin. In 1922 Paul Gigeychuk was hired to relocate Ukrainians from cities and overcrowded blocs onto vacant land along CPR lines. The relaxing of immigration restrictions in 1923 saw the two men directed to new immigration from the old country and to placements for farm workers and domestics.<sup>35</sup>

The CPR also lacked exploitable links like those between the UEPS and Cunard, although it tried to integrate its steamship and railway operations to carry Ukrainian immigrants on Canadian Pacific facilities for as much of their journey as possible. But its competitive disadvantage with the CNR encouraged aggressive measures to capture a share of the burgeoning Ukrainian traffic. Bishop Budka and later Wasyl Swystun, a leading figure in the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church, received free passes and were offered commissions for diverting placements to the CPR.<sup>36</sup> In Saskatchewan alone, efforts to develop a CPR presence in Ukrainian districts saw modest colonization boards established at Hafford, Blaine Lake, Prince Albert, Vonda, and Canora, in addition to a small Ukrainian Baptist Board in Saskatoon under Rev Ivan Shakotko.<sup>37</sup> Several Edmonton businessmen, appointed commission agents to place unattached farm labourers and settlers forwarded to Alberta, formed a private company, the Ukrainian Immigration and Colonization Association. It also sold farm land and other real estate and quickly acquired a reputation for questionable practices. The group, headed by Jacob and William Hawreliak,<sup>38</sup> was connected to the CPR through George Kuzyk, who worked for the railway's steamship subsidiary.

In an attempt to raise its Ukrainian profile, the Canadian Pacific Steam Ship Company promoted Ivan Rudachek, a former editor of *Kanadiiskyi ukrainets*, from translator to assistant director of foreign traffic at Winnipeg.<sup>39</sup> Kuzyk remained its travelling representative for Alberta and eastern British Columbia; Michael Gowda focused on Manitoba; and a new field man, Dr D.I. Lalkow of Saskatoon, was hired for Saskatchewan.<sup>40</sup> These men coordinated their recruitment with Gigeychuk and Charambura, working as CPR colonization agents.

From the start the CPR expended virtually no effort to attract Ukrainian families to Canada, continuing to concentrate on Mennonites, Scandinavians, a small trickle of Americans, and central Europeans with sufficient capital to buy established farms near its lines. But the railway could ill afford to ignore the revenue generated by tens of thousands of single eastern European farm labourers coming to western Canada. As such it aggressively pursued placements of as many continentals as possible in the areas its lines crossed. It also raised traffic volumes (and cut into its competitor's profits) by invading CNR territory and recruiting

Slavs to be directed to Ukrainian colonies along CNR lines.<sup>41</sup>

Competition between the two railways, and the desire of all parties to maximize placements and thus revenues, invited practices that violated the spirit and the letter of the Railways Agreement. Men with no farm background and no intention of pursuing agriculture in Canada—blacksmiths, butchers, barbers, and even fishermen—were granted railway certificates as genuine agriculturalists. Many went immediately into industrial work; others attempted to use Canada as a springboard for entry, usually illegal, into the United States.<sup>42</sup> Nor were attempts made to place on farms hundreds of those admitted or to ensure that those who were placed remained for a season let alone the obligatory year.<sup>43</sup> The CNR, for example, diverted its very first contingent of “farm workers” to track laying in British Columbia and northern Ontario.<sup>44</sup> Although such abuses were not broken down by nationality, Yugoslavs, Czechs, and Hungarians were the most frequently mentioned offenders.

Among the more notorious practices were those attributed to the Ukrainian Immigration and Colonization Association, the central vehicle through which the CPR distributed continental farm workers to points in CNR territory in central and northern Alberta. With an eye on commissions, the group accepted as many men as possible and eagerly pursued nominations and sponsors among all continentals, not just Ukrainians. Dubious recruitment and placement methods, however, prompted this outburst from a Danzig inspectional officer in late summer 1926:

The above named men are Poles and are backed through the Ukrainian Colonization Board, Edmonton, for placement by that organization. None understand the Ukrainian language and are of a section of the Polish race more or less hostile to Ukrainians. None of these men had been informed by railroad officials as to when they were going and appear to have been sent forward indiscriminately. Some are of poor type physically. The prospects of having these men placed in farm work by the Ukrainian Colonization Board during the coming winter are not very bright. Not 10% of number have more than \$25. They appear to have been herded together and rushed forward regardless of possible complications on arrival, in order to reach Canada before September 15th. Would appear that primary consideration was the passage money (all are cash passengers) the emigrants' proper settlement more or less a gamble.<sup>45</sup>

Not content with Europe, the Ukrainian Immigration and Colonization Association turned to Manchuria, where Harbin, a major Russian railway centre before 1917, had a sizeable Russian and Ukrainian population augmented in the 1920s by refugees fleeing the Bolsheviks. Many viewed Harbin as a temporary stop on relocating abroad, and the



Edmonton group hastened to exploit the situation, requesting the permission of the Department of Immigration and Colonization to settle 150 families in Alberta. It had arranged with the executors of a 20,000-acre ranch near Sexsmith to sell the property to the refugees for \$15 an acre over ten years in return for a substantial sales commission. Jacob Hawreliak, the association's secretary, assured the Department that "these people are agriculturalists in the true sense of the word having tilled the soil all their lives," and insisted that most possessed capital of one to five thousand dollars.<sup>46</sup>

Ottawa responded cautiously. Since refugees without internationally recognized passports could not be deported if indigent, it was necessary to weigh carefully in advance the Harbinites' prospects for successful settlement. Doubting their credentials as *bona fide* agriculturalists able to purchase farm land and worried about their becoming public charges,<sup>47</sup> Ottawa decided to investigate the proposition and its backers. Consultation with Russian refugees settled by the CPR near Wetaskiwin revealed that "comparatively few" of those from Harbin were likely to prove "worthwhile settlers," prompting the observation that "the proposal made by Kleskun Ranch looks...more like a real estate deal than a colonization enterprise."<sup>48</sup> But evidently swayed by the fact that the ranch's legal counsel was "favourably known" to their acting minister, immigration officials agreed to consider the plan, provided the settlers arrived with sufficient funds and received proper supervision in settlement. Jacob Hawreliak would personally oversee the selection of suitable individuals, agriculturalists who possessed at least \$500 for deposit towards the purchase of Kleskun land (now costing \$16 an acre).<sup>49</sup>

Before Hawreliak's departure for Harbin, however, the investigation into those associated with the venture found that the two Hawreliaks had an "unsavoury reputation" emerging from "several shady practices" two years earlier. As manager of the Western Colonization Company headed by George Kuzyk, passenger agent for Canadian Pacific Steam Ship, Jacob Hawreliak had complained

that one of his competitors in the steamship business [Ostryzniuk] was representing himself as an Immigration Officer. Some time previously Kuzyk was connected with a steamship agency operated by Andrew S. Shandro, ex-M.L.A., who was later convicted and sentenced to six month's imprisonment for taking money for the purpose of obtaining transportation, which he converted to his own use. Shandro and Kuzyk are apparently related.<sup>50</sup>

Apparently, William Hawreliak and Shandro had been involved in producing false affidavits to get European aliens into the country. "Shandro, Kuzyk, Hawreliak and Ostryzniuk were at one time working

with one another," the investigation concluded, "and another time at one another's throats but all for the all-mighty dollar and not a bit particular how they got it."<sup>51</sup> The report ultimately vindicated Kuzyk, whose continued work with Canadian Pacific was seen as above board, but clearly distrusted the Hawreliaks and their associates and counselled caution. Ottawa informed the British consul in Harbin that it had approved the movement of Slavic agriculturalists but could not guarantee that Jacob Hawreliak's involvement was "above suspicion."<sup>52</sup>

Hawreliak's stay in Manchuria achieved little. Although he aggressively promoted Kleskun lands and Canadian Pacific transportation connections, prospective settlers refused to put down hard cash for land they could not inspect. Hawreliak's methods also antagonized the local Russian press, which questioned his motives in soliciting passenger traffic and attempting to unload unseen properties on unsuspecting souls.<sup>53</sup> By late April 1926 the Ukrainian Immigration and Colonization Association had recalled Hawreliak and suspended its Manchurian activities. The visit's sole concrete result was the arrival of eight refugees in early summer. They were assigned to the CNR for placement near Kuroki, Saskatchewan, where it was soon learned that the group—which included one professor, two students, and two actors—had no farming experience.<sup>54</sup>

The entire Harbin affair, a senior immigration official told his minister, illustrated "how sometimes people or concerns in Canada will ask for a privilege, accept responsibility, and then back out with scarcely a thought of what it means to the Department or perhaps to a group of settlers."<sup>55</sup> While some other CPR-related placement work was similarly controversial, most progressed in more routine fashion and abided by the rules of the Railways Agreement. Throughout 1926 the CPR's various colonization boards, concentrating on their own ethnic groups, absorbed thousands of arrivals. The colonization board at Hafford, for example, directed the placement of almost two hundred Ukrainians; most originated in Western Ukraine but some were Galicians from Cuba successfully routed to Canada by the CPR. The Ukrainian Baptist board in Saskatoon obtained nominations for over 150 Stundists from Soviet Ukraine, although tight emigration restrictions prevented or delayed the exit of many.<sup>56</sup>

Approximately 35,000 immigrants entered Canada in 1926 under occupational certificates issued by the railways. In a pattern that would prevail for most of the Railways Agreement, over 25,000 of this number were unattached farm labourers, and Ukrainians comprised one-quarter of all arrivals.<sup>57</sup> The volume of traffic favoured the CNR by a ratio of three to two, reflecting the CPR's inability to counter the Cunard,



Scandinavian-American, White and Star, and other steamship lines which directed their business almost exclusively to its rival.<sup>58</sup> Most farm labourers, regardless of nationality, had been directed to central and northern Saskatchewan and Alberta where they cleared brush and helped with the harvest.<sup>59</sup> Family units either accepted farm employment or began farming on their own. Causing the fewest problems, domestics usually went directly to their destinations and stayed with their sponsors for a few months if not indefinitely. Yet abuses had been rife. Hundreds of non-agriculturalists had obtained entry; many who arrived were not directed to agricultural employment; and many of those who did go to farms did not remain long on the land, attracted by the prospect of better pay in railway construction, mining, and industry. Limited unemployment, however, deflected attention from the abuses.

In October 1926 the railways asked that the Agreement be extended beyond its initial two years so they could recoup the costs of an expensive and time-consuming recruitment process.<sup>60</sup> Senior immigration officials, upset that their inspectional officers in Europe could not reject emigrants in possession of railway certificates even though many were clearly not agriculturalists, counselled against renewal in its existing form.<sup>61</sup> Strongly reprimanding the two companies for the abuses they had countenanced, the government nonetheless extended the Agreement for an additional three years, leaving the power of recruitment and occupational screening with the railways. The abuses, after all, had incurred little unemployment, and it would be expensive for Ottawa to resume responsibility for immigration.<sup>62</sup>

Minor changes, however, were introduced. Germany was reclassified as preferred and the Soviet Union was added to the non-preferred list, with the proviso that since Soviet emigrants were seldom allowed to return home, sponsors had to be able to support their nominees in the event they became unemployed. At any rate, a breach in Soviet-Canadian diplomatic relations in 1927 effectively nullified the USSR's inclusion in the Agreement. The railways were reminded that their certificate-issuing-officers could not have overt ties with any steamship line, and that unassigned farm workers could not sail before 1 February or after 15 August. Responding to complaints about the lackadaisical distribution practices of various CPR-related colonization boards, Ottawa reiterated that only the Mennonite and German organizations—which, financially capable of caring for immigrants, were not interested solely in commissions—could place immigrants on a year-round basis over and above the terms of the Railways Agreement. Finally, the government gave notice that a quota system would be enforced and that it retained the right to cancel the Agreement on one year's notice.<sup>63</sup>

## *The Remaining Years*

During the remaining years of the Railways Agreement the recruitment and placement of Ukrainians became more specialized. Competition for traffic also intensified as the CNR and the CPR sought to cultivate contacts and attract capable organizers to their respective colonization organizations. The CPR continued to invade CNR territory, but while the CNR appointed commission agents at a few points on CPR lines not too distant from its own tracks, it generally avoided such tactics.<sup>64</sup> Through its steamship connections and extensive network of local agents, the CNR continued to carry the bulk of the Ukrainian traffic.<sup>65</sup>

To develop nominations and distribute incoming immigrants in Ukrainian communities, the CNR built on its existing system, employing more travelling representatives and expanding its network of independent local commission agents, who were paid five dollars per family located plus an additional dollar for each family member.<sup>66</sup> Crisscrossing the prairies on behalf of the CNR, Fred Taciuk and his assistant, F.J. Jurema, recruited over a dozen community leaders in Saskatchewan alone during 1927, and the number almost doubled the following year. Eventually, Ukrainians constituted a quarter of all CNR placement agents, reflecting the importance of the Ukrainian ethnic group.<sup>67</sup> But while Ukrainians were eagerly sought as colonization agents, almost none were retained as land agents to list and sell, for substantial commissions, lands adjacent to CNR lines: these lucrative positions remained the preserve of the English-speaking business elite.

The local Ukrainian businessmen, prominent farmers, and municipal leaders—usually Greek Catholic but sometimes Orthodox—whom Taciuk and Jurema convinced to place immigrants for the CNR were sent official notification of their appointments from Winnipeg.<sup>68</sup> It then became their responsibility to determine how many farm labourers and domestics their districts could use, note vacant lands on which immigrant families could be settled, and as far as possible take applications for hired hands. The CNR used the data amassed by all its agents to estimate total manpower needs on prairie farms, and on this basis notified CNR officers in Europe how many immigrants to clear for sailing. On reaching Winnipeg, immigrants were dispersed through a central clearing house to be placed by the local colonization agent nearest their ultimate destination. This highly centralized placement system usually produced an orderly distribution satisfactory to all parties.

St Raphael's role in placing Ukrainian immigrants further declined in 1927, usurped by the expanding ranks of independent CNR agents, and it became, in fact, an unofficial referral agency for the railway. In

response to some 470 letters from Europe and South America requesting information on Canada, it sent English-language brochures promoting the CNR and its aim to place new immigrants on "the best farms" in the country; the inquirers' names were then forwarded to the CNR colonization department to follow up.<sup>69</sup> Although some officials privately minimized the usefulness of St Raphael's to actual settlement work,<sup>70</sup> the CNR undeniably benefited from its referrals as well as invaluable connections with prominent Greek Catholics. In 1928 Elcheshen, still the association's secretary, became a CNR colonization representative. The following year the monarchist organizer, Volodymyr Bossy, served briefly with the company. Such ties not only solidified the CNR with a large segment of the Ukrainian Canadian community but also increased its placement potential by furnishing automatic contacts across the prairies. The Basilian Fathers in Mundare, for example, assisted William Smolyk, a CNR colonization representative, with farm worker and family placements in east-central Alberta. Yet the St Raphael-CNR relationship was not entirely cordial. Budka withdrew his active support from the association not long after it began to cooperate openly with the CNR, possibly because both he and his successor, Vasyi Ladyka, favoured an independent, wholly church-oriented Ukrainian colonization organization. But until his recall to Europe in 1927, Budka played both sides of the fence, requesting (and receiving) free passes and other concessions from both railways.<sup>71</sup>

The CNR devoted considerably more energy than the CPR to placing Ukrainian families on farms, largely because the bloc settlements of Ukrainians lay in CNR territory, and they joined Poles and Germans at the core of its family placement program. By early 1927 rising land prices made it more difficult to purchase even moderately priced improved property and the CNR increasingly directed its low-capital families, like Ukrainians, to homestead and minimally improved land farther from existing branch lines. CNR capital requirements were also reduced for Ukrainians. Instead of the usual \$500, families of two or more children (children were felt to anchor settlers in one place) had to possess only \$350, of which \$250 went towards a deposit.<sup>72</sup> This change admitted that however satisfactory and stable Ukrainian placements might be, few could afford to pay for the trip overseas and then produce (and relinquish) a large sum on arrival.

The effort expended by the CNR in Ukrainian family settlement, second only to its German work, is seen in the 170 Ukrainian units it placed on the land in 1928; the CPR anticipated fifteen.<sup>73</sup> Colonization representatives frequently found, however, that new arrivals were reluctant to settle in areas away from existing transportation lines and

preferred the proximity of fellow nationals. The CNR's solution—to group settlers by nationality, place them in a remote area, and then rely on their natural tendency to attract relatives and former neighbours—helped overcome the loneliness inherent in frontier settlement. It also advanced the railway's interests by accelerating development in new districts or those where small populations made light use of its lines.<sup>74</sup> The CNR's annual report for 1927 noted that income from rail and ocean fares exceeded \$160,000 and its colonization department spent almost \$170,000, but the long-term benefits outweighed any short-term deficit:

Given average yields, and on the basis of an average grain freight rate of 24 cents per 100 pounds to Port Arthur, an acre of new breaking should be worth to the system approximately \$2.00 per annum over a period of years, and the amount broken up along our lines this year will justify the expectation of increased revenue in future years from grain transportation to the extent of over \$1,000,000 per annum.<sup>75</sup>

In sharp contrast to the CNR, the CPR persisted in a decentralized approach to its continental traffic, channelling allocations directly through the local colonization boards it supported. Yet a certain streamlining saw many of these groups disbanded in favour of a smaller number of larger and more commercial private agencies. The railway found that attractive commissions drew a few private organizers who proved much more effective at placing large numbers of immigrants than a field of part-time local agents. What it gained in increased traffic and lower direct costs, however, it lost in terms of control. Ukrainian boards in places like Canora, Vonda, Prud'homme, and Shoal Lake disappeared, to be replaced by three major agencies, one in each prairie province.<sup>76</sup> The financial arrangements included a five-dollar placement commission fee plus a monthly subsidy to run each operation.

The bulk of Ukrainian CPR placements in Alberta continued to go to the Hawreliak organization, now the Confederation Land Corporation, in Edmonton. In 1927 it placed over 1,000 Ukrainians in the province—and over 2,500 men of all nationalities, conducting a quarter of all CPR activity that year. When the numbers moved by the Corporation's counterparts in Saskatchewan and Manitoba are added, these ostensibly "Ukrainian" bodies handled almost half of the CPR's total allotment of immigrants from non-preferred countries.<sup>77</sup> They achieved this impressive figure, however, with the help of organizers prepared to overlook misdirected placements and overlapping orders for workers.

The two new CPR agencies, the Ukrainian Colonization Board in Saskatoon and the more modest Ukrainian Settlers' Aid Society in Winnipeg, began operation in spring 1927. The former was organized by John Ruryk, one of the more talented associates of the Hawreliak agency,



at the CPR's encouragement, and enjoyed the unofficial support of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, lay affiliate of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church. As an added incentive the League's president, Wasyl Swystun, received a complimentary rail pass and was offered a commission for immigrants he directed to the company. Despite a rather late start, Ruryk placed 1,454 farm labourers and 7 domestics in 1927, increasing these totals to 2,332 farm workers, 26 domestics, and 2 families the following year. To expedite gathering applications and distributing workers, Ruryk initially employed local sub-agents paid with part of his commission, but once firmly established he did most of the placement work himself. Based on a per capita profit of \$1.75, Ruryk's placements in 1928 yielded a handsome return in excess of \$4000. Like his Edmonton and Winnipeg counterparts, he also received commissions on real estate sold to newcomers or Canadian citizens by separate arrangement.<sup>78</sup>

Given the high stakes it is not surprising that colonization agents often chose to ignore that many of their placements either never arrived at their slated destinations or soon left. Ruryk, for example, admitted he did not check whether the farm workers he assigned in fact remained on the land; he only discovered otherwise if they contacted him or drifted back to his office.<sup>79</sup> The CPR set-up provided no incentive to act differently, as agents were expected to assume the expense of replacing those who were not initially placed in or who abandoned agriculture. Moreover, the obvious emphasis in the whole system was to attract the largest volume of immigrants with little company or organizational control to ensure the terms of the Railways Agreement were met. Ruryk's estimate that 50 to 60 per cent of his placements stayed on the land<sup>80</sup> was more optimistic than most government estimates. Intense competition for placements prompted complaints of territorial intrusions by sister boards clamouring that their rivals had pirated immigrants that should have rightly been theirs.<sup>81</sup>

Unlike the Edmonton and Saskatoon agencies, headed by Orthodox Ukrainians, the Ukrainian Settlers' Aid Association in Winnipeg was composed largely of Greek Catholics. Budka was formally listed as its patron even though he had returned to Europe; Joseph Dyk was president; and Basil Basheta, who had left the CNR, was secretary. Budka's secretary sat on the board of directors, as did several other CPR employees, including Biberovich who had also bolted the CNR to become a travelling representative for Canadian Pacific Steam Ship.<sup>82</sup> Although the Ukrainian Settlers' Aid Association set an ambitious target of 1,500 placements for Manitoba in 1927, it managed only 247.<sup>83</sup> Its sorry record reflected the relative advantage enjoyed by the CNR with respect to Ukrainian placements in the province, but Manitoba was simply not popular as far

more work was generally available in Alberta and Saskatchewan. When general immigration declined in the late 1920s, the Ukrainian Settlers' Aid Association was the first of the three CPR Ukrainian agencies to fold.

By late 1927 only two local Ukrainian colonization boards working with the CPR remained: one in Hafford, headed by Orest Zerebko, the other in Saskatoon under Shakotko. They jointly placed no more than a few dozen settlers; Zerebko, incidentally, also acted as a local colonization agent for the CNR.

### *Eroding Public Support*

The erosion of public opinion that led to the eventual cancellation of the Railways Agreement began in spring 1927, sparked by an oversupply of farm labourers due primarily to the railways' propensity to pass for sailing as many individuals as could pay the fare in order to maximize traffic flows. Awareness of abuses turned into concern then outright disapproval as bad spring weather forced many farmers to release or turn away the men they had contracted to hire. When hundreds of central and eastern Europeans gravitated to cities, logging camps, and industrial sites in search of jobs,<sup>84</sup> the provinces and municipalities, ultimately responsible for welfare services, raised a cry that politicians could not ignore and Ottawa was forced to act. The ensuing debate pitted a vocal element determined to restrict immigration against the railways and continental groups, like the Ukrainians, just as determined to keep the avenues open.

Public knowledge of abuses emerged even in the smallest communities in the West. Many of the large private colonization boards—including the Ukrainian associates of the CPR—had pursued practices designed to bring as many individuals as possible. Fictitious names or the names of persons who clearly had not requested and did not want immigrant labourers were often placed on documents if sponsors proved hard to attract. At least one CNR agent used similar methods, for a Ukrainian farmer at Lipton, Saskatchewan, complained to authorities that the railway had sent him a farm worker when he had definitely not ordered one.<sup>85</sup> Unscrupulous agents obviously counted on the economy absorbing incomers somewhere, making both railways and immigrants happy yet avoiding public criticism. But with bad weather in early 1927, the dangers of this strategy became increasingly visible as Ukrainians, Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, and others drifted back and forth across the prairies seeking even temporary placements. Two CNR-sponsored Slavs, who remained largely destitute four months after disembarking in Canada, described their plight:

As soon as we arrived in Winnipeg the Immigration office would not give us a position, so we had to look for work ourselves which we had



got from the Government Employment Board. We worked for one month at Great Falls, after one months time there was no more work so we had to be without any work for two months going from one office to another, but they would not give us any work. On the 12th June from Winnipeg office they sent us to Saskatoon and told us they will take us on extra gang work, we gave our last cent for the tickets to Saskatoon, but when we arrived here they could not take us on so we have to go around without a cent in our pockets and no work.<sup>86</sup>

As public dissatisfaction with the Railways Agreement grew, a senior official in the Department of Immigration and Colonization outlined the government's dilemma for his acting minister:

It appears to me that there is a gathering storm rising in the West and that we will not be able to find very much shelter in the statement that the Government handed over to the Railways, under an arrangement which tied our hands, the right to move any number of people whom they can place at farm work in Canada, regardless of whether these are actually fit for or intend to take farm work. There will be a terrific outcry from the Railway Companies if this thing is cancelled. On the other hand there is bound to be a worse situation created by public opinion in Canada if the present conditions are allowed to continue.<sup>87</sup>

At the end of May Ottawa announced that no more single farm labourers would be admitted from non-preferred countries for the rest of the season; domestics were to be closely monitored and subject to control; families with sufficient capital to begin farming and dependants coming to join relatives could move as before.<sup>88</sup> Although many Ukrainians subsequently postponed or cancelled plans to relocate in Canada, 10,899 came in 1927: 7,670 males, mostly unaccompanied; 1,461 domestics; 326 wives and 523 children; and a few dozen unskilled workers and tradespeople arriving under special permits outside the Railways Agreement.<sup>89</sup>

Not surprisingly, the railways denounced the embargo. Each company also tried to absolve itself of blame for the abuses that provoked it while offering evidence of the other's wrong doings. And, although the CNR immediately stopped bringing continental farm workers to Canada, its competitor did not. In fact the CPR antedated applications for departure from Europe to accommodate as many agricultural labourers as possible before the cut-off date.<sup>90</sup> Both railways, but especially the CPR, lobbied to lift the embargo, arguing unfairness to those who had sold everything to pay their fares and were now in limbo until the next sailing season at the earliest. The Department of Immigration and Colonization viewed such new-found altruism with scepticism. One senior official told the Prime Minister that the railways had previously set many immigrants "adrift" and were simply looking for "fresh material."

Revealing indisputably anti-semitic sentiments, he likened the Hungarian Immigration Board in Calgary to a Hungarian Jew "trafficking in immigrants who incidentally gets paid so much a head for his work." Less prejudicially, he labelled the Ukrainian CPR colonization boards "skeleton organizations used...to collect information about the number of foreign immigrants supposed to be wanted in various districts and to distribute or otherwise to get rid of the immigrants when they arrive."<sup>91</sup>

Attempts to lift the embargo fell on deaf ears. Although Premier Gardiner of Saskatchewan felt the surfeit of agricultural workers could be absorbed, most western municipal and provincial politicians supported Ottawa. Premiers Brownlee and Bracken of Alberta and Manitoba, respectively, blamed the railways for both the oversupply and the non-agriculturalists in their number. Such men displaced Canadian workers, aroused public resentment, and financially burdened local governments when out of work.<sup>92</sup> The criticism of abuses that had prompted the changes to the Railways Agreement seemed justified when the chief immigration official on the prairies told a departmental investigation that only 45 per cent of continental immigrant labourers went to farm work on arrival, and only half of those remained in their jobs for any time. A British Columbia official confirmed that hundreds of continentals admitted as farm labourers had come to the West Coast seeking non-agricultural employment. Blaming the railways, he noted that "selection seems to be based entirely on the ability of the applicant to raise the funds to pay the fare."<sup>93</sup>

As job vacancies declined, the issue of non-agricultural continental immigration moved beyond merely preserving employment opportunities for Canadians. Thousands of idle foreign workers rekindled the "Red Scare" which had swept North America after the Great War, as the newcomers were feared to harbour Bolshevik sympathies in a desire to overthrow Canadian democracy and capitalism. The pro-Soviet Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA) became a prime target of such suspicions and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) monitored its publications, spied on its meetings, and tailed its leaders. In one of his frequent reports to immigration authorities, the RCMP commissioner warned that the ULFTA was preparing to intensify its propaganda among new arrivals, through committees in major urban centres offering advice and moral assistance.<sup>94</sup> The RCMP managed to uncover a small exchange of money and personnel between Canada and the Soviet Union involving leaders of the ULFTA and a pro-Soviet Doukhobor group,<sup>95</sup> but it was unable, in 1927, to establish that the ULFTA played any major or effective role in the movement or indoctrination of Ukrainian immigrants.

Fear of Bolshevik infiltration persisted, however, and Ukrainian colonization interests manipulated it for their own ends. In an effort to deflect attention from their own shortcomings, some agents blamed immigrants' failure to arrive at their destinations on Bolshevik agitators pulling them off the trains. The practice had become so common, Ruryk told the RCMP, that he "nearly" had one agitator at Moose Jaw arrested; such interference also explained why his colonization board frequently "lost track of the immigrant."<sup>96</sup> The claims of Ruryk and others were largely accepted at face value by both RCMP and immigration officials and paraded in the anti-communist Ukrainian press. *Ukrainskyi holos* repeatedly charged that Bolshevik provocation would eventually produce tighter immigration restrictions, yet it never mentioned the numerous immigration-related abuses perpetrated by some of its own supporters.<sup>97</sup>

By October 1927 public anxiety and growing unease at irregularities in the operation of the Railways Agreement forced the government to take additional steps. To eliminate possible confusion and make the railways fully responsible for all placements, independent boards, such as the Mennonites had, could no longer nominate immigrants directly. This change had little impact on Ukrainians as none of their boards enjoyed government recognition and they already channelled their allotments through the railways. The stipulation that those nominating or applying for single or unaccompanied men had to be actually engaged in agriculture affected Ukrainians more.<sup>98</sup> In February 1928 the House of Commons referred the entire immigration issue and work of the Department of Immigration and Colonization to the Select Standing Committee on Agriculture and Colonization. While it deliberated, existing regulations prevailed. The embargo against unattached farm labourers was not extended into 1928, and the flow of European immigrants that year hit an interwar high. Ukrainian immigration alone topped 16,000, swelled by a carry over from the 1927 embargo and extensive flood damage in Western Ukraine the previous autumn. Over 11,000 were male agriculturalists, many coming early in the season under growing speculation that Canada might soon permanently restrict immigration.<sup>99</sup> Favourable spring weather enabled farmers to accommodate relatively more placements than in 1927.

Nevertheless, agitation to curtail immigration from non-preferred countries gained momentum. The government hearings provided a platform for the likes of the Anglican bishop of Saskatchewan, George Lloyd, who castigated the federal government for permitting the railways to "mongrelize" and denationalize Canada through an influx of "ignorant, garlic-smelling" continentals.<sup>100</sup> His nativist attacks and their sympathetic reception testified to concern over the British character of Canada

as well as the security risk and economic competition the newcomers were feared to pose. The rise of the anti-foreigner, anti-Catholic Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan, which helped topple Gardiner's Liberals in 1929, was merely the extreme expression of a widespread sentiment.

Deteriorating economic conditions and hardening Anglo-Canadian attitudes underlay the Committee's recommendation, implemented at the end of June 1928, that the Railways Agreement run its term but not be extended. During the time remaining, only blood relatives could sponsor farm labourers and domestics. Thus, prospects for continued large-scale Ukrainian immigration dimmed appreciably, even though dependants and family units with capital to begin farming were unaffected.<sup>101</sup> The new policy offered reassurance that the excesses of the past would be curbed and dwindling jobs reserved for resident Canadians. It also triggered retrenchment in immigration work by the railways and other agencies.

The decline in immigrant volumes in 1929 was greater than anticipated as a result of poor weather and consequently further restrictions. Despite a generally good 1928 growing season, severe frosts had damaged or destroyed millions of bushels of grain and reduced farmers' purchasing power. Hundreds of men who had arrived in 1928 were hard pressed to find or retain employment and orders for additional agricultural workers in 1929 dropped dramatically. A Ukrainian CNR placement representative was pessimistic about the winter and spring.<sup>102</sup> Reacting to the downturn and pre-empting an outcry over inaction, Ottawa reduced the quota of farm workers from non-preferred countries for 1929 to 30 per cent of the volume admitted in 1928; again, female domestics and family units were largely exempt.<sup>103</sup> Five thousand fewer Ukrainians, 11,009 in total, entered Canada in 1929 than the previous year. Although farm labourers fell substantially, family migration and completions increased under concern about expiry of the Railways Agreement. In both 1929 and 1930, the immigration of domestics remained near the record level of 1928, exceeding 1,600 each year.<sup>104</sup>

Jobs in service tended to be more stable than those in industry or agriculture, and Ukrainian as well as German-speaking domestics were in high demand.<sup>105</sup> Their transportation, distribution, and placement was the most systematic and controlled of any continental group. Girls were met on landing and escorted inland in small groups under a female officer of the women's immigration branch for placement with their employers. The vast majority went to friends, relatives, or old-country neighbours who knew them and thus felt a certain responsibility and commitment, and very few failed to arrive at their intended destinations. Male farm workers, at least before 1928, were often placed with total



strangers.

The Anglo-Canadian press and public largely supported the new measures. Ethnic newspapers opposed them, arguing that they limited the ability of fellow nationals in Europe to escape harsh conditions. *Kanadiiskyi ukrainets* complained bitterly that Canada, happy to use Ukrainians for the physical work of nation building, had turned its back: "So it is. When Ukrainians came here and cleared the trees, picked rocks, built towns and roads, they were desirable, but now that most of the hard work is done, they don't want to admit those they now consider undesirable."<sup>106</sup> Unsympathetic Anglo-Canadians either dismissed such concerns or branded them un-Canadian. A rally in Winnipeg to protest the new regulations showed, "above all things," according to the *Toronto Globe*,

that the petitioners are Ukrainians still, although they have taken an oath as Canadians and Britishers. Their first sympathies are with their own people; Canada is secondary. To them Canada is merely a country to be exploited for their own gain. It has proved to be a good country for them and should be at the command of their friends also. They recognize no obligation to conform with the wishes of the Canadians and other British people who opened the way for them to benefit, but propose to use the political strength which has fallen to them to compel their benefactors to accede to their demands.<sup>107</sup>

"European immigrants," which apparently included Canadian-born Ukrainians, had no "moral right" to agitate against a policy designed to preserve the British character of Canada, the same editorial insisted, and it blamed Ottawa for allowing the railways to bring so many of their kind into the country.

With poor crops and a worsening oversupply of farm labourers in fall 1929, the railways were advised that their agricultural worker quota for 1930 would be trimmed an additional 25 per cent.<sup>108</sup> In this, the last year of the Railways Agreement, the number of Ukrainians admitted to Canada fell to a low of 8,133. While the entry of domestics held firm and that of direct dependants and family units increased, the movement of single male farm labourers suffered an even sharper decline than in 1929.<sup>109</sup>

## Cancellation

Despite pending termination of the Railways Agreement under the onslaught of the Great Depression, immigration remained an issue. The hundreds of aliens who roamed the country or congregated in urban centres, unable to find work and much resented, constantly reminded Canadians of what many had come to consider a serious error in federal

policy. In the 1930 general election, the Conservatives capitalized on the economic situation and decisively defeated Mackenzie King's government. Long critical of Liberal immigration policy, they appropriately made one of their first decisions an order-in-council effectively halting movement from non-preferred countries. Until economic conditions improved, continental immigration was to be limited to families with capital wishing to begin farming and to dependants coming to join sponsors financially able to support them. The new government's gesture was largely symbolic, however, coming a little over two months before the Railways Agreement was due to expire. Its passing attracted as little attention in the midst of rapid economic decline as its introduction had drawn under much more prosperous conditions.

## Notes

1. All figures in this paragraph come from William Darcovich and Paul Yuzyk, eds., *A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1976* (Ottawa 1980), 526-7, and are based on the calendar year.
2. Bylaws, Ukrainian Immigration Bureau, 23 November 1923, Ivan Bobersky Papers, file 58, Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre (UCEC), Winnipeg; see also #58/680 (16 January 1924) and #91/1093 (5 March 1924) concerning the company's plans.
3. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 14 May and 9 April 1924; semi-annual report, CNR Colonization and Development Department, 30 June 1924, Winnipeg, T.P. Devlin Papers, RG30, vol. 5569, National Archives of Canada (NAC), Ottawa; and Michael H. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History* (Winnipeg and Ottawa 1970), 369.
4. Albert Dubuc to W.J. Egan, deputy minister, Department of Immigration and Colonization, 6 February 1925, Immigration Branch Records, RG76, vol. 232, file 135361, NAC; this file contains considerable correspondence on Dubuc's scheme.
5. The non-Ukrainians, besides Dubuc, were John Thompson Huggard (lawyer), Douglas Littlejohn (bank manager), Henry Laorte (lawyer), Guillaume Joseph Charette (magistrate), and Gustave Arthur Rocan; see petition, Transatlantic Settlement Corporation, submitted to the undersecretary of state, 24 March 1924, *ibid.*
6. *Kanadiiskyi ukrainets*, 9 January 1924; and *Ukrainskyi holos*, 20 August 1924.
7. Semi-annual report, CNR Western Division (Department of Colonization and Development), 30 June 1924, Winnipeg, RG30, vol. 5569; and *Kanadiiskyi ukrainets*, 11 November 1925.
8. Zaiachkivsky was the director of Narodna Torhivlia, the largest consumer cooperative in Lviv.



9. See order-in-council, P.C. 1424, 22 August 1924; and Mykola Zaiachkivsky to the minister of immigration, 20 October 1923, St Raphael's Ukrainian Immigrants' Welfare Association Collection, UCEC.
10. *Perehliad roboty*, 1924-5, minutes, 14 January and 3 March 1925, and statutes, 1925, St Raphael's Ukrainian Immigrants' Welfare Association Collection; see also Marunchak, *Ukrainian Canadians*, 365.
11. Minutes, 3 March 1925, St Raphael's Ukrainian Immigrants' Welfare Association Collection.
12. Annual report for 1924, CNR Western Region (Department of Colonization and Development), RG30, vol. 5567.
13. *Perehliad roboty*; and report of H.O.F. Herzer in minutes, Canada Colonization Association, 30 April 1925, CPR Collection, file 644, Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary.
14. W.J. Egan to Volodymyr Bachynsky at Montreal, 2 July 1925, St Raphael's Ukrainian Immigrants' Welfare Association Collection.
15. See the pamphlet by Stepan Sawula, 8 September 1925, *ibid.*; also *Kanadiiskyi ukrainets*, 9 September 1925.
16. W.T. Egan to Robert Forke, minister, Department of Immigration and Colonization, 18 January 1927, RG76, vol. 262, file 216882.
17. H. Blair Neatby, *William Lyon Mackenzie King, 1924-1932: The Lonely Heights* (Toronto 1963), chapter 4; see RG76, vol. 262, file 216882 for correspondence on the negotiations.
18. F.C. Blair, assistant deputy minister, Department of Immigration and Colonization, 10 September 1925, RG76, vol. 262, file 216882.
19. W.J. Black, director of colonization, CNR, to F.C. Blair, 5 March 1926, RG76, vol. 262, file 216882; J.B. Hedges, *Building the Canadian West: The Land and Colonization Policies of the Canadian Pacific Railway* (New York 1939), 368-77; and Darcovich and Yuzyk, *Statistical Compendium*, 525-6.
20. R. Mazurkiewicz, acting Polish consul-general, to F.C. Blair, 19 January 1926, RG76, vol. 262, file 216882.
21. W.J. Egan to J.S. Dennis, director of colonization and development, CPR, 14 September 1925, *ibid.*
22. A.L. Joliffe, acting deputy minister, Department of Immigration and Colonization, to W.J. Black, 15 December 1925, *ibid.* For the 1926 season, a farm worker might expect to earn \$300 in wages plus a dollar per day bonus during threshing; Thomas Gelley, division commissioner of immigration, to A.L. Joliffe, 26 November 1925, *ibid.*
23. *Montreal Gazette*, nd, in September 1925 correspondence, RG76, vol. 262, file 216882; and *Toronto Globe*, 19 September 1925.
24. W.J. Black to W.J. Egan, 26 October 1925, J.S. Dennis to W.J. Egan, 2 November 1925, and director of European immigration, London, to W.J. Egan, 19 January 1926, RG76, vol. 262, file 216882.
25. Minutes of the executive, 5 May 1927, St Raphael's Ukrainian Immigrants' Welfare Association Collection.
26. *Kanadiiskyi ukrainets*, 11 November 1925.

27. Annual report for 1924, CNR Western Region (Department of Colonization and Development), RG30, vol. 5567.
28. *Kanadiiskyi ukrainets*, 28 October 1925, 17 March 1926.
29. Annual report for 1925, CNR Western Region (Department of Colonization, Agriculture, and Natural Resources), RG30, vol. 5567.
30. In 1926 there were 143 such correspondents and 23 committees across Canada; president's address, annual meeting, 30 December 1926, Winnipeg, St Raphael's Ukrainian Immigrants' Welfare Association Collection.
31. *Kanadiiskyi ukrainets*, 14 October 1925.
32. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 6 January 1926.
33. Fred Taciuk to Dan Johnson, 9 December 1926, and Andrew Shandro to Fred Taciuk, 14 February 1927, RG30, vols. 5990 and 5991.
34. F.C. Blair to W.J. Egan, 13 November 1926, RG76, vol. 262, file 216882.
35. *Kanadiiskyi ukrainets*, 2 February 1920; and minutes, advisory committee (Departments of Natural Resources and Colonization and Development), 17 November 1919, Calgary, and 6 March 1922, Montreal, CPR Archives, Montreal.
36. Minutes, advisory committee (Departments of Colonization and Development and Natural Resources), 18 November 1925, Winnipeg, and 19 June 1928, Calgary, CPR Archives, Montreal.
37. *Saskatoon Star*, 19 September 1926.
38. The other members were H. Bohonis, A. Kuprovsky, M. Korchynsky, W. Pylypiwsky, and J. Ruryk; Marunchak, *Ukrainian Canadians*, 369. See also minutes, advisory committee (Departments of Colonization and Development and Natural Resources), 22 June 1926, Winnipeg, CPR Archives, Montreal.
39. *Kanadiiskyi ukrainets*, 25 November 1925.
40. Canadian Pacific Steam Ships Circular No. 39, 6 April 1927, CPR Collection, box 185, file 1856, Glenbow-Alberta Institute.
41. Thomas Gelley to A.L. Joliffe, 20 March 1926, RG76, vol. 262, file 216882.
42. W.J. Egan to Robert Forke, 18 January 1927, and A.L. Joliffe in F.C. Blair to W.J. Egan, 13 November 1926, *ibid*.
43. W.J. Egan to Robert Forke, 18 January 1927, *ibid*.
44. Thomas Gelley to A.L. Joliffe, 12 October 1926, *ibid*.
45. Cited in W.J. Egan to Robert Forke, 18 January 1927, *ibid*.
46. Jacob Hawreliak, secretary, Ukrainian Immigration and Colonization Association, to Charles Stewart, acting minister, Department of Immigration and Colonization, 2 December 1925, and J.D.O. Mothersill, solicitor for Kleskun Ranch, to Charles Stewart, 30 November 1925, RG76, vol. 267, file 227785.
47. F.C. Blair, acting deputy minister, Department of Immigration and Colonization, to Mr. Cullen, 7 December 1925, *ibid*.
48. *Ibid.*, and F.C. Blair to the British consul, Harbin, China, 27 January 1926, *ibid*.
49. J.D.O. Mothersill to F.C. Blair, 8 January 1926, *ibid*.

50. Division commander of immigration, Winnipeg, cited in A.L. Joliffe to F.C. Blair, 18 January 1926, *ibid.*
51. *Ibid.*
52. F.C. Blair to the British consul, Harbin, China, 17 January 1926, *ibid.*
53. *Novoe slovo*, nd, CPR Collection, box 89, file 676, Glenbow-Alberta Institute.
54. Memorandum, A.L. Joliffe, 18 June 1926, and Dan Johnson, western manager (Colonization Department), CNR, to W.J. Black, 30 June 1926, RG76, vol. 267, file 227785.
55. F.C. Blair to Charles Stewart, 25 May 1926, *ibid.*
56. Orest Zerebko in minutes, and Ivan Shakotko (report), colonization board conference, September 1926, Saskatoon, RG76, vol. 288, file 262212.
57. Memorandum, A.L. Joliffe, 23 October 1926, and Thomas Gelley to A.L. Joliffe, 12 October 1926, RG76, vol. 262, file 216882; also Darcovich and Yuzyk, *Statistical Compendium*, 524.
58. Bruce Walker, European director of immigration, London, 15 June 1926, RG76, vol. 262, file 216882.
59. Thomas Gelley to A.L. Joliffe, 12 October 1926, *ibid.*
60. See memorandum, A.L. Joliffe, 23 October 1926, *ibid.*
61. W.J. Egan to Robert Forke, 18 January 1927, *ibid.*
62. See W.J. Egan to J.S. Dennis and W.J. Black, 11 February 1927, concerning the government-railways conference of 8 February, *ibid.*
63. W.J. Egan to J.S. Dennis, 11 February 1927, *ibid.*
64. See F.M. Jerome [Jurema] to T.P. Devlin, district superintendent, Department of Colonization and Agriculture, Saskatoon, 22 November 1927, RG30, vol. 5991. Jurema describes placement work undertaken on CPR secondary main line points at Theodore and Foam Lake, Saskatchewan.
65. The Polish newspaper *Wychodźca*, 21 October 1928, contended that 11,024 emigrants travelled to Canada in 1928 via the CNR and 7,916 via the CPR; see "Report from the London Office (C.N.R.)," 9 November 1928, RG30, vol. 5634.
66. F.J. Freer, superintendent of land settlement, CNLSA, to J.S. McGowan, western manager (Colonization and Agriculture Department), CNR, 6 January 1928, RG30, vol. 5570.
67. Annual reports for 1927 and 1928, CNR Western Division (Department of Colonization and Agriculture), Saskatoon office, 31 December 1927 and 31 December 1928, RG30, vols. 5570 and 5612.
68. See F.M. Jerome to T.P. Devlin, 15 December 1927, RG30, vol. 5991; in one week Jurema visited Canora, Kamsack, Sturgis, Preeceville, Hyas, Arran, Pelly, Insinger, and Willowbrook, producing placement orders for 1928 for some 400 farm labourers.
69. Minutes of the executive, 5 May 1927, St Raphael's Ukrainian Immigrants' Welfare Association Collection.
70. See, for example, RG30, vols. 5650 and 5746; the second reference comments on the value of St Raphael's from the perspective of 1941.

71. See J.S. McGowan to E.H. Gurton, 10 May 1941, RG30, vol. 5746, file 3300-U-1; and Fred Taciuk to F.J. Freer, 21 January 1927.
72. Annual statement for 1927, CNR Western Region (Department of Colonization and Agriculture), Winnipeg, Saskatoon, and Edmonton offices, RG30, vol. 5570.
73. Annual report for 1928, CNLSA, Winnipeg, RG30, vol. 5571; and minutes, advisory committee (Department of Colonization and Development and Natural Resources), CPR, 6 November 1927, Winnipeg, CPR Collection, box 82, file 649, Glenbow-Alberta Institute.
74. F.J. Freer to F.B. Kirkwood, 2 August 1929, RG30, vol. 5612.
75. Land settlement report for 1927, F.J. Freer to J.S. McGowan, 6 January 1928, RG30, vol. 5570.
76. See appendices, *Report of the Western Canadian Offices and United States Organization* (Department of Colonization and Development), CPR, 1 December 1926 to 30 November 1927, CPR Collection, box 72, file 615, Glenbow-Alberta Institute.
77. *Ibid.*; in 1927 the CPR placed 8,843 central Europeans in Canada (p 2).
78. For details of the establishment and operation of the Ukrainian Colonization Board in Saskatoon, see John Ruryk's testimony, 2 June 1930, before the Saskatoon hearings of the Saskatchewan Royal Commission on Immigration and Land Settlement (1930); minutes of proceedings, 143-68, Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina.
79. *Ibid.*, 147.
80. *Ibid.*, 148.
81. See, for example, the protest of the Confederation Land Corporation in Edmonton against the Ukrainian Colonization Board in Saskatoon, which the Department of Immigration and Colonization, perhaps wisely, declined to arbitrate; F.C. Blair to G.M. Kuzyk, 11 April 1929, RG76, vol. 264, file 216882.
82. Fred Taciuk to F.J. Freer, 25 November 1927, RG30, vol. 5634; and Canadian Pacific Steam Ships Circular No. 51, 17 May 1927, CPR Collection, box 186, file 1856, Glenbow-Alberta Institute.
83. Appendices, *Report of the Western Canadian Offices and United States Organization*.
84. Evidence from Thomas Gelley cited by F.C. Blair, 16 May 1927, RG76, vol. 262.
85. John Tkach cited in J.S. Dennis to W.J. Black, 11 July 1927, RG76, vol. 263.
86. Nykola Czyryk and P. Dralnik cited in *ibid.*
87. F.C. Blair to Charles Stewart, 18 May 1927, RG76, vol. 262.
88. For details of the embargo and the railways' reaction see Department of Immigration and Colonization correspondence and reports, May-June 1927, RG76, vols. 262-3.
89. Darcovich and Yuzyk, *Statistical Compendium*, 526.
90. See W.J. Egan to W.J. Black, 17 August 1927, RG76, vol. 264.

91. F.C. Blair to W.L. Mackenzie King, 26 July 1927, RG76, vol. 263; see also texts of telegrams to Charles Dunning, minister of Railways, July 1927, *ibid.*
92. F.C. Blair to Charles Dunning, 12 July 1927, *ibid.*
93. See "Brief of Summary Evidence Covering Operation of the Railways Agreement, January to August, 1927," *ibid.*
94. Cortlandt Starnes to W.J. Egan, 7 February and 2 March 1927, RG76, vol. 299, file 274585; see also *Ukrainski robitnychi visty*, 12 February 1927.
95. Cortlandt Starnes to W.J. Egan, 2 March 1927, RG76, vol. 299, file 274585; also the report by James Ritchie, superintendent, "G" Division, 11 April 1927, *ibid.*
96. Cortlandt Starnes to W.J. Egan, 20 April 1927, *ibid.*; see also memorandum by F.C. Blair, 20 February 1929, RG76, vol. 264, file 216882.
97. See, for example, *Ukrainskyi holos*, 5 October 1927.
98. Robert Forke to Henry Thorton, president, CNR, 31 October 1927, RG76, vol. 263.
99. Darcovich and Yuzyk, *Statistical Compendium*, 526.
100. See, for example, *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, 24 April 1928.
101. See the report of the Select Standing Committee on Agriculture and Colonization, 1928, p 9; also Robert Forke to Henry Thorton, 14 June 1928, RG76, vol. 264.
102. D.M. Elcheshen, "Report to December 10, 1928," 31 December 1928, Saskatoon, RG30, vol. 5651.
103. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 9 January 1929; and W.J. Egan to Thomas Molloy, deputy minister, Department of Railways, Labour and Industries (Saskatchewan), 16 January 1929, RG76, vol. 264.
104. Darcovich and Yuzyk, *Statistical Compendium*, 526.
105. Minutes, CNR (Department of Colonization, Agriculture and Natural Resources) certificate-issuing-officer conference, London, 11 August 1927, RG30, vol. 5611.
106. *Kanadiiskyi ukrainets*, 16 January 1929.
107. *Toronto Globe*, 8 February 1929.
108. F.C. Blair to H.N. Wood, deputy minister, Department of Labour, 17 December 1929, RG76, vol. 265; only 8,000 continental labourers were approved for 1930, divided evenly between the two railways.
109. Darcovich and Yuzyk, *Statistical Compendium*, 525-6.



**UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS**

## **Wedded to the Cause**

**Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891-1991**

**by Frances Swyripa**

Frances Swyripa presents the first interpretive study of women of Ukrainian origin in Canada. She analyses the images and myths that have grown up around them, why they arose, and how they were used by the leaders of the community.

Swyripa argues that ethnicity combined with gender to shape the experience of Ukrainian-Canadian women, as statelessness and national oppression in the homeland joined with a negative group stereotype and minority status in emigration to influence women's roles and options. She explores community attitudes towards the peasant immigrant pioneer, towards her daughters exposed to the opportunities, prejudices, and assimilatory pressures of the Anglo-Canadian world, towards the 'Great Women' evoked as models and sources of inspiration, and towards the familiar baba. In these stereotypes of the female figure, and in the activities of women's organizations, the community played out its many tensions: between a strong attachment to Canada and an equally strong attachment to Ukraine; between nationalists who sought to liberate Ukraine from Polish and Soviet rule and progressives who saw themselves as part of an international proletariat; between women's responsibilities as mothers and homemakers and their obligation to participate in both Canadian and community life.

Swyripa finds that the concerns of community leaders did not always coincide with those of the grassroots. The differences were best expressed in the evolution of the peasant immigrant pioneer woman as a group symbol, where the tensions between a cultural ethnic consciousness and a politicized national consciousness as the core of Ukrainian-Canadian identity were played out in the female figure.

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**Paper: \$18.95**

**ISBN: 0-8020-6939-8**



# **The Reverend Semen Sawchuk and the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada**

*Oleh W. Gerus*

One of the recurrent themes of Ukrainian history has been the close relationship between religion and nationalism, with the Ukrainian Orthodox and Greek Catholic or Uniate churches exerting a decisive influence on the national psyche, culture, politics, and identity. As a result, Ukraine's neighbours—Roman Catholic Poland and Orthodox Russia—regularly interfered in Ukrainian religious life as part of their political agenda to denationalize and assimilate the Ukrainian nation. Russia illegally and forcefully absorbed the Ukrainian Orthodox church (the Kievan metropolitanate) in 1686, and Poland unceasingly attempted to Latinize the Uniate church in direct violation of the conditions of the Union of Brest (1569). This unhappy historical experience gave rise to deep-seated suspicion of real and alleged foreign manipulation of the two traditional Ukrainian churches. Such attitudes were transferred to Canada with the first Ukrainian settlers, there to be nurtured by the circumstances of immigrant community life which guaranteed the politics of religion a prominent place.

This paper is premised on the assumption that the chaos of the past is often best interpreted and understood through its actors. Thus, the history of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada (UGOC), which emerged from the confusion and disruption of the pioneer years, cannot be separated from its leading personalities, specifically the Very Reverend Dr Semen Wolodymyr Sawchuk who was not only the church's chief architect but also its driving force for over three decades. The discussion that follows represents an initial attempt to evaluate Sawchuk's impact on the key stages in the transformation of an immigrant national-religious dissident movement into first a peculiarly Ukrainian Canadian institution and then a major Orthodox ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

## *The Formation of the UGOC*

The origins of the UGOC have been reasonably well documented.<sup>1</sup> Suffice it to say that the church was formed in 1918 largely because of religious turmoil rooted in the fact that for political reasons both Greek Catholic Galicians and Orthodox Bukovynians from the Austro-Hungarian empire were not accompanied to Canada by their own clergy. The greatest obstacle to the immigration of Greek Catholic priests and the chief source of public discontent was the Vatican's insistence on celibate clergy in North America, as the great majority of Greek Catholic priests were married. For their part, the Romanians who controlled the Bukovynian Orthodox church showed no interest in providing missionaries for Canada. This deprived the Ukrainian settlers, by and large a very religious people, of their accustomed rural community leadership. It also exposed them to aggressive proselytization by Anglo-Canadian Methodists and Presbyterians, French and Belgian Roman Catholic priests, and Russian Orthodox missionaries. However, the community leadership vacuum was quickly filled by a small but remarkably capable secular intelligentsia, consisting largely of country school teachers in western Canada, who took advantage of the situation to usurp the role that the Ukrainian clergy reserved for itself in the homeland. Nationalist and populist in outlook, these ambitious, anti-clerical, brash young men (*narodovtsi*) quickly adapted to Canada and established the organizational structures that allowed them to exercise influence over their immigrant countrymen.<sup>2</sup> Their activities laid the foundation for the emergence of a distinct Ukrainian Canadian society. By the time Greek Catholic Ukrainians were granted a separate jurisdiction in 1912, the nationalist intelligentsia boasted its own organ, the weekly *Ukrainskyi holos*, and had developed definite views on Ukrainian community needs in the adopted homeland.

As self-appointed guardians of the immigrant masses, the nationalists considered it their duty to safeguard the moral well-being of those struggling with the difficulties of cultural adjustment and pioneering. Their defensive and increasingly anti-foreign attitude, initially formed by the decades-long Polish-Ukrainian struggle in Galicia, was reinforced in Canada by the energetic efforts of various Anglo-Canadian, French, and Russian missionary groups to influence and control Ukrainian immigrants on behalf of their own agenda. Such leading nationalists as Wasyl Kudryk, editor of *Ukrainskyi holos*, were convinced that a nationally conscious Ukrainian with a sense of self-worth would make a better Canadian citizen than one who assimilated blindly.<sup>3</sup> Rejecting assimilation outright, the nationalist intelligentsia called instead for the full

integration of the Ukrainian immigrant into Canadian society as an equal citizen. Although such an argument was not popular with a nativistic host society promoting Anglo-conformity, Ukrainian nationalists remained committed to their ideal, planting the seeds of Canadian multiculturalism. Because of their keen sensitivity to the potential power of organized religion over often confused and even demoralized settlers, the nationalists also gave high priority to the establishment of a genuinely Ukrainian church in Canada.

*Ukrainskyi holos* initially supported the attractive but theologically unworkable concept of a Ukrainian "national" church—one single democratic, nationalistic, non-denominational church for all Ukrainians. That such an idea gained popularity among the pioneers indicates great dissatisfaction with the prevailing religious situation. However, the notion that Ukrainian national interests must supersede denominational priorities flouted the religious exclusiveness demanded of his faithful by Bishop Nykyta Budka, newly appointed head of the Greek Catholic church. Nor did nationalist demands for a fundamental restructuring of his church into a democratic institution sit easily with Budka's stringent commitment to clerical authoritarianism. In fact, if there was one key reason for the alienation of the secular intelligentsia from the Greek Catholic church, it was the controversial bishop. Despite recent scholarly efforts to redeem him, Budka remains the proverbial "wrong man at the wrong place at the wrong time."<sup>4</sup> His deep conservatism and his almost paranoid distrust of the free-thinking intelligentsia precluded all possibility of compromise with the Ukrainian nationalist elite, and they reluctantly decided to create their own church.<sup>5</sup>

The Catholic dissidents, led by Wasyl Swystun, the twenty-five-year-old rector of the Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon, and Michael Stechishin, a thirty-year-old law student at the University of Saskatchewan, formed a National Committee. It invited selected prominent Ukrainians—students, teachers, the more prosperous farmers—to a confidential meeting to "discuss, determine and clarify our church position, especially to determine the relations of the [Greek Catholic] church with our national institutions and national issues in general."<sup>6</sup> One hundred fifty-four of 310 invitees, overwhelmingly from western Canada, attended the historic assembly of disaffected Catholic laity on 18-19 June 1918 that marked the culmination of the bitter feud between Bishop Budka and his secular critics. Denouncing Budka's authoritarianism, his apparent subordination to the Latin-rite hierarchy, and his perceived anti-Ukrainian politics, the meeting unanimously decided to organize a separate and independent "national" church to be called the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada. This was a revolutionary but logical step in the

transformation of the intelligentsia's negativism into positivism, or a shift from merely quarrelling with Budka to actually creating an alternative church organization based on the democratic principles and Orthodox doctrines espoused by the populists-nationalists.

But why did these Catholics embrace Orthodoxy, which in Canada was tainted with Russophilism? Dominated by the ideas and personalities of Stechishin and Swystun, then undoubtedly the most skilled organizers and agitators the fledgling Ukrainian community possessed, the Saskatoon meeting rationalized the decision to create the UGOC as a conscious return to the distinctive Ukrainian Orthodoxy that had embodied the historical and true faith of their ancestors before part of the Ukrainian people had been forced into an unhappy union with Rome.<sup>7</sup> The assembly drew a sharp distinction between Ukrainian and Russian forms of Orthodoxy. Most participants, however, were unaware that they were making history, that they were laying the foundation for the first independent Ukrainian Orthodox church in the world. Nothing similar would emerge in the homeland until 1921, when stimulated by the process of state building.

Eastern Orthodoxy epitomizes unity in diversity. Its churches belong to a variety of countries and cultures; each is independent in administrative matters but all are one in faith. The founders of the UGOC declared their church to be "in communion with other Eastern Orthodox churches...accept[ing] the same dogmas and the same rites,"<sup>8</sup> but with no theologians present they did not elaborate on what this meant doctrinally speaking. They stressed instead the new church's nationalism (reflected in its name and later in the use of Ukrainian in services), and its distinctiveness from the Canadian Greek Catholic church (for example, a married priesthood and a democratic structure, with government by the laity in the general council or *sobor*).<sup>9</sup> Thus, created by laity the UGOC would remain largely in the hands of the laity, to distinguish it from other Orthodox churches where real power remained with the hierarchy. In light of the fact that the UGOC was formed by people with very little theological expertise, it is not surprising that in its infancy the church appeared to be more a socio-political than a spiritual institution. To founders like Wasyl Swystun, the UGOC represented part of a general Ukrainian liberation movement from foreign domination, being first and foremost a manifestation of modern Ukrainian nationalism and democracy in Canada.

To convert the resolve to create a new church into reality, the Saskatoon meeting formed the Ukrainian Orthodox Brotherhood, resurrecting a peculiarly Ukrainian Orthodox institution originating in the sixteenth century. The Brotherhood handed Swystun an enormous task: to organize



the UGOC without recourse to a relevant model, to find priests among sympathetic Russian Orthodox and Greek Catholic clergy, to establish a financial base for the church, and, most importantly, to secure a bishop. Because the bishop in the Orthodox tradition is not only the chief spiritual guide of the faithful but also embodies the all-important doctrine of the apostolic succession, his office is vital to the unbroken continuity of the church of Christ. In fact, an Orthodox church is not a true church without a canonical bishop, one whose legitimacy in church law is recognized by other Orthodox bishops.<sup>10</sup> It is highly likely that in 1918 the founders of the UGOC did not realize that complex issues of canonical legitimacy and hierarchy would shape the history of their new church.

In the early twentieth century, the dominant Orthodox church in North America was the Russian mission with its roots in the tsarist colonial presence in Alaska.<sup>11</sup> Employing Ukrainian-speaking missionaries and providing free ministries, it expanded its influence from the United States to the nascent Orthodox Bukovynian communities in Canada. Outward similarities between Orthodox and Greek Catholic rituals, the acute shortage of Greek Catholic priests, and certain Galician Russophile sentiments attracted a number of Greek Catholics to the Russian mission as well. But as the Russian church had also been promoting Russian nationalism and was resolutely opposed to a separate Ukrainian church jurisdiction, Swystun could not reach a satisfactory arrangement with its hierarchy to provide a bishop for the UGOC. Consequently, in near desperation, he turned to the American exarch of the ancient Antiochian (Syrian) Orthodox church, Metropolitan Germanos Shehedi of New York, who was in communion with the ecumenical patriarch. Although Germanos was a controversial character, his hierarchial status was canonical or legitimate, and this was an important benefit for the new Canadian church. Germanos agreed to assume spiritual authority over the UGOC until a suitable Ukrainian hierarch could be found. Without his cooperation, the UGOC could have easily been stillborn, but instead it soon boasted a canonical bishop plus five Ukrainian priests who defected from Russian Orthodox and Greek Catholic camps.<sup>12</sup>

UGOC organizational work inevitably involved confrontation with the Greek Catholic and Russian Orthodox jurisdictions whose parishes UGOC activists coveted. Both churches understandably felt threatened and viciously attacked the upstart church in their sermons and press, frequently applying the label "Swystunite" to smear the UGOC as an illegitimate collection of social misfits.<sup>13</sup> *Ukrainskyi holos* steadfastly defended and promoted the UGOC as a legitimate and desirable Ukrainian national institution, with its editor, Wasyl Kudryk (who would soon accept priesthood) arguing that Ukrainian Orthodoxy and Ukrainian



national identity were synonymous; any other religion was anti-Ukrainian.<sup>14</sup> The idea that Ukrainian Orthodoxy stood for national elitism carried a definite appeal in the 1920s, and growing public support for the UGOC suggests that there was a community need for such a church. According to the archival evidence, most early parishes were organized by local initiative, generally by individuals who responded to the rhetoric of *Ukrainskyi holos*. Once a nucleus formed, appeals were made to the Brotherhood and later to the UGOC consistory for priests, although the shortage made it difficult to provide adequate service.

Parallelling the birth of the UGOC was the formation of the Ukrainian Orthodox church in the United States. However, unlike the UGOC, the American body was organized by dissident Catholic priests, with the result that its clergy exercised much greater influence and control than their counterparts did in Canada.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, the American church was exclusively urban (largely blue collar) whereas the UGOC was a rural-urban conglomerate. Initially both churches recognized common growing pains and attempted a joint administrative structure under the Reverend Mykola Kopachuk, a recent arrival from Bukovyna, but different priorities made localization of authority inevitable. In 1920 the Canadian Brotherhood appointed the newly ordained Semen Sawchuk, a young man of twenty-five, secretary of the UGOC's executive organ, or consistory, which consisted of three laymen and two clerics.<sup>16</sup> Sawchuk quickly emerged as an effective and talented church leader, a role he was destined to play for the rest of his life.

Who was Semen Sawchuk? Born in the village of Volkiivtsi, Borshchiv county, Galicia, to peasant parents he had come to Canada with his family in 1899 at the age of four. The Sawchuks homesteaded in the Inkster district of Saskatchewan, but Semen chose not to farm. Deeply religious and highly intelligent, he first trained as a public schoolteacher, then continued his education at the University of Saskatchewan while residing at the Mohyla Institute, a hotbed of Ukrainian patriotism and anti-Budka sentiment. The Sawchuk family, like many others, divided over the issue of the UGOC, with Semen taking a definite pro-Orthodox position. In 1919 he surprised his fiancée and friends by interrupting his final year of university studies (arts) to enrol in the theological program offered in Saskatoon by Dr Lazar German, formerly of Chernivtsi University, and sponsored by the Brotherhood. Reflecting on his decision many years later, Sawchuk noted with irony that Swystun suspected his motives for entering the priesthood, telling students at the Mohyla Institute that Sawchuk "was a hardline Catholic, his family was Catholic, and most likely Sawchuk was a Catholic mole with the task of undermining the church."<sup>17</sup> In March 1920 Sawchuk, Dmytro Stratiychuk, and

Petro Samets were ordained by Metropolitan Germanos in the United States, increasing the number of clergy in the UGOC from five to eight priests. The Brotherhood assigned Sawchuk to missionary work among the growing number of Ukrainian communities in Saskatchewan.

Why did Sawchuk interrupt his university studies until 1951 and choose the hardships and uncertainties of priesthood in a neophyte church? Sawchuk himself, either then or later, said little on the subject except that as a student he was overwhelmed with a desire to fill a spiritual and patriotic need in himself and the Ukrainian community in Canada. In short, he wanted to serve and to lead. Nurtured on Mykhailo Hrushevsky's populist history of Ukraine, Sawchuk developed his own sense of historic mission and idealism, and realizing the importance of the events of July 1918, wanted to play a direct part in them. He viewed the formation of the UGOC as a noble effort to save defenceless Ukrainian immigrants from hostile and foreign influences—an assimilationist Anglo-Celtic host society, proselytizing Protestant denominations, and anti-Ukrainian policies pursued by both the Greek Catholic church and Russian mission. Sawchuk believed as well that the secular intelligentsia was to provide community leadership in Canada not only through active involvement in church affairs, but also by accepting the difficult responsibility of priesthood. To his everlasting disappointment, the lay elite of the UGOC steadfastly refrained from following his personal example.

### *The Search for a Ukrainian Bishop*

Although the UGOC's leaders were deeply indebted to Metropolitan Germanos for his crucial assistance in legitimizing their church by his canonical status, they were equally aware of the political drawback to even nominal authority being invested in a non-Ukrainian hierarch and resolved to make his tenure as short as possible. After all, one of the main reasons for the formation of the UGOC had been the perceived foreign (French and Belgian) domination of the Greek Catholic church in Canada. Thus it was urgent to find a Ukrainian hierarch for the UGOC. Despite communication difficulties caused by the Great War, the UGOC leadership knew of and derived moral strength from the birth of a Ukrainian state and the accompanying revival of Ukrainian Orthodoxy in Ukraine. By 1921 the Canadian church was involved in extensive correspondence with Professor Ivan Ohienko, minister of religious affairs in the government of the Ukrainian People's Republic, and already in exile in Tarnów, Poland.<sup>18</sup> As secretary of the consistory, Sawchuk requested Ohienko to recruit ten priests for Canada and to find a suitable bishop to head jointly the Canadian and American Ukrainian Orthodox churches.<sup>19</sup> To expedite the search, the Brotherhood elevated Sawchuk

to administrator of the UGOC and dispatched him to Europe. There he was to assess the unfolding religious situation in Ukraine and visit both Ohienko and the primate of the newly created Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox church, Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivsky. Before going to Kiev, Sawchuk informed Michael Stechishin back in Canada that he wished "to persuade Lypkivsky not to interfere in church affairs in North America because no bishop will be prepared to come to Canada if another bishop goes to the United States, especially if he is a Lypkivite."<sup>20</sup>

According to his diaries, Sawchuk's stay in Europe between November 1922 and March 1923 proved a most useful introduction to Orthodox religious politics. Ohienko confirmed Sawchuk's view that Orthodox Ukrainians in North America needed a special kind of bishop, one who was both canonical and a proven Ukrainian patriot. But where to find one? Sawchuk had two possible sources, both new Orthodox churches: the Ukrainian Autocephalous church in Soviet Ukraine and the Orthodox church of Poland.<sup>21</sup> There were serious canonical and political problems, which Sawchuk and Ohienko recognized and hoped to avoid in Canada, associated with the Autocephalous church. In the eyes of the highly conservative Orthodox world, it lacked canonical legitimacy. Not only had its primate been consecrated in an unacceptable manner (by priests not bishops) but the series of reforms it had enacted (such as allowing married bishops) also placed its Orthodox doctrines in question. Its fervent nationalism, however, made the Autocephalous church the embodiment of Ukrainian opposition to Soviet Russian imperialism in Ukraine, which most certainly enhanced its prestige and popularity among the patriotic population but guaranteed its ultimate liquidation by the atheistic communist regime.<sup>22</sup> Sawchuk concluded that a bishop from the Autocephalous church would create serious difficulties for the UGOC and was thus undesirable. Ohienko also advised against recruiting a Lypkivite bishop, saying that it "would deliberately destroy your young church....You have enough enemies."<sup>23</sup> Sawchuk believed that a suitable candidate could be found in the canonical Orthodox church being established in Poland for the country's large Ukrainian and Belarusian populations. However, the fact that the majority of the Canadian Brotherhood leaned towards Lypkivsky's Autocephalous church undermined his efforts.

Of the several candidates from the Polish church who, according to Ohienko, were prepared to emigrate to Canada, two warrant special attention. Archimandrite Polikarp Sikorsky, a former official in Ohienko's ministry, would be consecrated bishop of the Orthodox church of Poland in 1932 and in 1941 become the administrator of the second, and this time, canonical, Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox church. Bishop

Oleksiy Hromadsky, a reputable theologian, would head the rival Ukrainian Autonomous Orthodox church during World War Two. It is enticing to speculate whether the tragic history of Ukrainian Orthodoxy during the war would have been different had either of the two men come to Canada.<sup>24</sup>

That Sawchuk ultimately failed to find a bishop was due in part to the pro-Lipkivsky position of the Brotherhood, especially Swystun, and in part to its deteriorating financial situation. The Brotherhood suddenly discovered that the postwar economic depression in Canada left no money to make an attractive offer to the prospective candidates, and sent mixed signals to Sawchuk. The relatively comfortable lifestyle of the Orthodox clergy under Polish administration acted as a deterrent to emigration except for individuals, like the Reverend Petro Bilon, who were hounded by the Polish government for political reasons.<sup>25</sup> In the final analysis the UGOC could afford to import only three priests. The Canadian clergy earned very little, often living on the edge of poverty; even as administrator of the UGOC, Sawchuk himself found it hard to support his growing family, which eventually numbered eight children.<sup>26</sup>

While Sawchuk was in Europe, the Ukrainian Orthodox church in the United States decided to obtain a bishop from Metropolitan Lipkivsky. Given the pro-Lipkivsky sentiment in the nationalistic Canadian Brotherhood, Sawchuk realized that the American choice could be imposed on Canada and lobbied hard but unsuccessfully against a bishop from Autocephalous circles. In late 1923 Lypkivsky designated Archbishop Ioan Teodorovych for the American church. A Ukrainian patriot, a prominent pastor, an effective orator, and, most importantly, a pragmatist who quickly adjusted to North American conditions, Teodorovych had impressive credentials for his post. To the American leadership and the Canadian Brotherhood in the 1920s, a patriotic image of their church leader was more important than the fuzzy question of canonicity. After all, nationalism had prompted the formation of the UGOC, and the Autocephalous church was the only national Ukrainian Orthodox church in Europe. In the opinion of the Brotherhood, its bishops should be good enough for North America.<sup>27</sup> So important had nationalism become by this time that even the conservative Ohienko moderated his position on canonicity, writing the baffled Sawchuk that the issue of canonicity was no longer so critical.<sup>28</sup> Some Canadians were also attracted by the reformist or neo-Protestant features of the Autocephalous church, which they saw as a magnet for attracting Ukrainian Protestant converts in Canada. Although no influx materialized, the UGOC stalwart Peter Svarich insisted that "if we had a Lypkivite bishop in Canada, all our



Presbyterians would join us," on the grounds that the Ukrainian Presbyterian leader, Ivan Bodrug, was "a great friend of Lipkivsky."<sup>29</sup> Sawchuk remained justifiably concerned about the Greek Catholic and Russian Orthodox reaction to a bishop of dubious canonical status for Canada, but accepted the inevitable. The fourth general council of the UGOC, held 15-27 July 1924 in Yorkton, Saskatchewan, unanimously elected Archbishop Ioan Teodorovych as Canada's primate. The three hundred delegates, overwhelmingly lay, were duly impressed with his dignity and declared willingness to serve Ukrainian Orthodoxy.

It seems that Sawchuk never totally resolved his personal moral dilemma about the canonical status of Archbishop Teodorovych. But after 1924 the UGOC's position legally complied with Orthodox teachings that recognized two types of church law, inviolable dogmatic canons and flexible administrative-judicial canons. The question of hierarchy fell between the two. In fact, each Orthodox church follows only those laws which are relevant to its historical experience and peculiar needs. For the UGOC to accept only those administrative-judicial laws concerning it as a peculiar Ukrainian Canadian institution was entirely proper. But by this time Sawchuk had realized that the question of canonicity was often more political than theological.<sup>30</sup> Like many other Ukrainians, he excused the controversial origins of Lypkivsky's hierarchy as honourable ends justifying questionable means. Since the disputed consecration of Lypkivsky had occurred because of abnormal political circumstances and not wilful violation of Orthodox tradition, the Autocephalous church should be considered canonical.

Publicly, Sawchuk tried to make a virtue out of necessity by arguing that the status and prestige of the UGOC was contingent upon its own moral and spiritual strength and not the attitude of other Orthodox churches. The principle of self-reliance and independence was frequently reaffirmed in *Vistnyk*, the church's official organ: "When we stand on Orthodox basis, when our church is sincere, when the cause for which we struggle is sacred, we do not need additional recognition from foreign and distant people, people who do not know us and for whom our church concerns are alien and incomprehensible and who made no contribution whatsoever to our common good."<sup>31</sup> Russian Orthodox and Greek Catholic polemics questioning the UGOC's legitimacy Sawchuk deflected as malicious attacks on the church's independence and Ukrainianism. Privately, however, he remained troubled about the future implications for the UGOC of the canonical controversy surrounding Teodorovych. While justifiably concerned about the ammunition it provided for the UGOC's enemies, Sawchuk was even more apprehensive for the future of his church. Since Teodorovych's status was not



recognized by other Orthodox churches in North America, the archbishop was incapable of perpetuating the hierarchy of the UGOC or, for that matter, of the American church. Moreover, as the article of canon law to which Sawchuk and the consistory subscribed stipulated that a new bishop could be consecrated by no fewer than two other bishops, should Teodorovych die, his death would create a crisis for the UGOC. Sawchuk recognized that the decision of 1924 merely postponed the question of the UGOC's status as an independent and a canonical ecclesiastical body. He thus maintained a deliberately vague position on the implications of the relations between the UGOC and the Autocephalous church in Ukraine that were implicit in Teodorovych's function as archbishop of the UGOC. Both this ambiguous relationship and Sawchuk personally would be seriously challenged by the pro-Lypkivsky forces in the 1930s.

Although a formal primate of the two Orthodox churches, Canadian and American, Archbishop Teodorovych resided in the United States, limiting his presence in Canada to summer visitations and church council meetings. This arrangement did not allow the traditional power of a hierarch to develop, so that Teodorovych's role in Canada was largely symbolic; it freed Sawchuk, as administrator and head of the consistory, to run the UGOC according to his own vision and competence. The church's headquarters had meanwhile been transferred to Winnipeg in 1922 when Sawchuk, the priest, moved there to establish a UGOC presence in the emerging capital of Ukrainian life in Canada and Greek Catholic stronghold. The new parish, which Sawchuk served until 1932, was designated as the all-Canadian cathedral. Wasyl Swystun, now studying law in Winnipeg, was its most prominent member. In a relatively short time relations between Swystun and Sawchuk soured as their personalities and philosophies clashed.

Under Sawchuk's leadership the UGOC grew steadily in the interwar years, including the Great Depression of the 1930s, and survived an internal crisis. Growth was assisted by external events as much as by the church's Orthodox-nationalistic image promoted by *Vistnyk*, which Sawchuk edited, and by the powerful Orthodox lay organization, the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (USRL). The UGOC was a curious amalgam of Uniate and Orthodox Bukovynian rites and traditions. Its leadership, secular and ecclesiastical, remained predominantly Galician, while the bulk of the membership was Bukovynian. The collapse of the Russian mission particularly benefited the UGOC as several Bukovynian parishes, without clergy as the number of Russian Orthodox priests in Canada fell to fourteen in the early 1920s, switched allegiance. Defections from the Catholic side continued among those who preferred a democratic church structure and the Ukrainian language to Church Slavonic.

The Catholic parish at Vita, Manitoba, for example, split into rival Orthodox and Catholic churches over the issue of parish control of church property.

UGOC priests, whose parish districts averaged eight congregations, were considered by their parishioners to be contractual employees and not their superiors. As the correspondence between the clergy and Sawchuk indicates, priests were often at the mercy of parish executives who expected them to lead exemplary family lives and perform a variety of community functions, like teaching Ukrainian school, in addition to carrying out their pastoral responsibilities. The meagre remuneration and demanding work load caused several priests to leave for the United States and discouraged new candidates (the seminary opened in Winnipeg in 1932 produced only eleven priests before 1939). Immigrant priests from Western Ukraine only partially offset the shortage. Sawchuk's fear of scandal and stringent moral code also barred disaffected Greek Catholic, Russian Orthodox, and Protestant clergymen with dubious reputations from entering the UGOC, a policy that led to occasional disagreements with lay leaders who sponsored prospective candidates for the UGOC priesthood. Sawchuk preferred slow and steady growth, assuring better control of church affairs by the consistory, to rapid expansion and possible problems. With 203 congregations embracing one-third of the Ukrainian Canadian population, the UGOC had become a major religious and political force, especially in the West, by 1939. Moreover, its influential secular ally, the USRL, dominated organized community life.<sup>32</sup>

Given the origins of the UGOC, it is not surprising that tensions, competition, polemical conflicts, and occasionally law suits characterized its relations with the Greek Catholic church, and, to a lesser extent, attitudes among Catholic and Orthodox faithful. It would appear that much squabbling was precipitated by a small number of zealots in both camps preaching religious exclusiveness, while their fellow parishioners, especially in more cosmopolitan urban centres, generally inclined towards religious tolerance and pluralism. Initially, under Sawchuk's leadership, the UGOC strove to assert itself as the only truly Ukrainian church in Canada. This emphasis on Ukrainianism rather than Orthodoxy was logical given the UGOC's genesis and uncertain canonical status. In addition, to be Orthodox in the 1930s meant not necessarily to be a better Christian but to be a better Ukrainian, so that conversion to Orthodoxy constituted above all a demonstration of Ukrainian patriotism.<sup>33</sup> The position promoted by *Vistnyk* and *Ukrainskyi holos*, the latter now the mouthpiece of the USRL, clearly implied that Greek Catholic and Ukrainian Protestant churches were less Ukrainian than the independent, self-reliant UGOC because they were unwittingly dominated by foreigners

who wanted to extinguish the Ukrainian nation. This position did not go unchallenged, but the Catholic response for one, particularly in the 1920s, was poorly and unwisely formulated. Mudslinging by *Kanadiiskyi ukrainets*, the church's official organ, led to a successful libel suit by the UGOC, which received a public apology. Awareness of Canada's libel laws, not to mention the financial costs of going to court, temporarily muted the polemical warfare.

In the 1930s the Greek Catholic church itself underwent a major internal reorientation.<sup>34</sup> A new bishop, Vasyl Ladyka, initiated changes in the interests of Catholic revival to enhance the role of the laity through the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood. A more serious challenge to the UGOC's coveted status as the exclusive champion of Ukrainian nationalism in Canada came from recently arrived veterans of Ukraine's wars of national independence, who also happened to be mainly Galician Catholics. Faced with these developments, Sawchuk accepted that the Greek Catholic church would remain the largest and potentially the most powerful Ukrainian ecclesiastical body in Canada. Faced with internal dissension within the UGOC as well, he also favoured a policy of co-existence, providing the Catholic press refrained from attacking the UGOC. Indeed, on Ukrainian and Canadian issues of national importance, he even advocated cooperation with the Greek Catholic church.<sup>35</sup> It was this new pragmatism of the UGOC, reflecting the growing confidence of its leadership, that eased the way to meaningful community consolidation during the Second World War.

### *The Swystun Crisis*

It was not external pressure from Greek Catholic or Protestant quarters but an internal conflict that posed the most serious threat to the UGOC in the 1930s. The celebrated but little understood public feud between Reverend Sawchuk and Wasył Swystun dominated church affairs in that decade and severely shook the UGOC. Sawchuk's ultimate victory was critical because it assured the continuity of the church as a traditional Orthodox ecclesia. But while on one level the struggle represented deep ideological differences on the nature and function of the UGOC, on another it represented a bitter personality clash between the two most prominent Ukrainian Orthodox church leaders in Canada.

As his controversial life so vividly demonstrated, Swystun was a permanent rebel with a cause and a gifted crusader who immensely enjoyed challenging conventional authority and wisdom. A founding father of both the UGOC and the USRL who soon found reasons to attack both institutions, Swystun was once compared to Napoleon and nicknamed "Wasylini" after the Italian dictator Mussolini.<sup>36</sup> His critics alleged, with

considerable justification, that his alienation from his colleagues was due mainly to an insatiable lust for power. The man's consuming ambition to direct virtually every aspect of church and secular life in accordance with his own views, always more radical than those of the USRL generally, met resistance and forced his withdrawal from official leadership of the Orthodox community. He continued to champion Ukrainian nationalism, however, and remained a power at the cathedral of St Mary the Protectress in Winnipeg, using that parish as a base in his confrontation with Sawchuk and the consistory.<sup>37</sup> While both Sawchuk and Swystun held that the UGOC had spiritual and social functions, they differed over which should take priority in the life of the church, and they sharply disagreed over the distribution of power between laity and clergy.<sup>38</sup> Sawchuk stressed religiosity and the guiding role of the clergy in parish and church affairs, but his cautious effort to free the church from excessive secularism, strongly supported by the clergy and Archbishop Teodorovych, was loudly resisted by Swystun.

The first step towards a balance of power between laity and clergy had been taken in 1929 when the federal charter incorporating the UGOC established the legal relationship between the consistory and UGOC parishes. The church's relationship with the USRL remained ambiguous. Formally, the USRL was an independent secular organization that supported the UGOC because of its Ukrainian profile and content, and Sawchuk certainly appreciated its importance to the Orthodox cause and the UGOC. But he was increasingly uncomfortable with a number of USRL activists who appeared to be only "fashionably" or tentatively Orthodox, avoiding the vital sacraments of confession and communion, for example, and whose influence in church affairs he and the clergy considered undesirable.<sup>39</sup> In essence, Sawchuk wanted the USRL membership to work for the church but not to interfere with or dominate it, ideally becoming, it seems, an extension of the UGOC much as the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics was of the Greek Catholic church. Sawchuk's efforts to strengthen the influence of the clergy over the parishes and create a clerical-lay balance found support among the influential Stechishin brothers, Michael, Myroslav, and Julian.<sup>40</sup> But Swystun, now a lawyer, was incensed by Sawchuk's apparent growing power, and his correspondence with his old friend Michael Stechishin suggests that he was determined to remove Sawchuk from the leadership of the church. He accused Sawchuk of betraying the UGOC's basic principles, imposing dreaded clericalism, and trying to turn the democratic (that is, lay-controlled) institution into a carbon copy of the despised Greek Catholic church which the founders of the UGOC had rejected.<sup>41</sup>

Personal relations between the two men had been deteriorating since



1929. Difficulties were compounded at the parish level at St Mary's where Sawchuk, the pastor, often clashed with Swystun, the choir director and president of the church executive. This caused Sawchuk to leave St Mary's for the small parish of St Michael, which had left the Russian jurisdiction for the UGOC. However, it is debatable whether the "Swystunite revolution," as Sawchuk called it, would have been so vehement and public had Sawchuk not offended Swystun's enormous ego by deliberately omitting his name from a fund-raising brochure.<sup>42</sup> In 1934 Swystun declared all-out war, accusing Sawchuk of ambition, incompetence, and abuse of power. The man, he continued, "is not an orator, nor a writer, nor an editor (*Vistnyk* is proof), nor a dedicated worker as he avoids work because he is always sick [referring to Sawchuk's bouts with tuberculosis]."<sup>43</sup> Such personal attacks turned many potential allies against Swystun.

The escalating polemical battle included brochures, ad hoc committees, articles in the Ukrainian press, circulars to the clergy, numerous letters, and passionate speeches. Despite repeated references to canonical issues, the feud was at root a power struggle for control and direction of the UGOC. It caused much consternation in UGOC circles and probably an equal amount of delight among the church's enemies. Michael Stechishin, for one, feared the ramifications of a prolonged Sawchuk-Swystun conflict. He tried to mediate between the two, but unsuccessfully, and bitterly concluded that their personalities prevented real reconciliation. Swystun he described as "energetic, sharp, loud, adversarial, and unforgiving," while Sawchuk was "also sharp-witted, somewhat secretive, [and] calculating," and quietly did what he wanted.<sup>44</sup> It appears that Swystun was determined to destroy Sawchuk much as he had tried to destroy Bishop Budka, with little regard for the church itself. Sawchuk, in turn, considered his adversary a disruptive force which the UGOC did not need and was equally determined to get rid of him. This anti-Swystun sentiment was shared by the influential editor of *Ukrainskyi holos*, Myroslav Stechishin.

The Sawchuk-Swystun feud was complicated by Archbishop Ioan Teodorovych. In the early 1930s the Soviet government had violently liquidated the Autocephalous church, including much of its episcopate and clergy, leaving Teodorovych as the only practicing hierarch. At that point another group of Ukrainian Catholic priests in the United States rebelled against their bishop and declared themselves a Ukrainian Orthodox church. Despite negotiating with Teodorovych, they decided to become part of the Greek diocese of North America in the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople because of the archbishop's controversial canonical status. Saddened by the setback and sensing increasing isolation



of his church in the United States, Teodorovych turned to the Patriarch of Constantinople offering to "complete" his consecration in the acceptable manner in return for formal recognition.

Sawchuk and the consistory were outraged, both by their primate's failure to consult the UGOC and by his intentions, which contained devastating implications for their church. Despite Sawchuk's lingering personal doubts about Teodorovych's canonical status, current church politics demanded that the primate of the UGOC be seen as canonical. There could be no talk of reconsecration because reconsecration would seriously undermine the Canadian church and its hard-won credibility. As Sawchuk pointed out to his confidante, Reverend Kudryk, "There are priests in Canada who would not continue serving the church should the Archbishop agree to be reconsecrated. Furthermore, it would be necessary to trample everything which we have been defending until now....Having exhausted all our arguments to prove that our hierarchy is indeed Grace-bearing [canonical], we would be left with no ammunition to defend the new position, that of reconsecration."<sup>45</sup> Although Teodorovych tried to downplay the issue with evasiveness, Sawchuk was convinced that the archbishop would continue to find ways to resolve his canonical status and no longer trusted him. The bond of mutual confidence on which the UGOC leadership, as represented by Teodorovych and Sawchuk, had been based since 1924 was shattered. Teodorovych pursued a dialogue with Constantinople while Sawchuk maintained that the UGOC was an independent or autocephalous Canadian church that would never place itself under foreign jurisdiction. Despite the historical link between Constantinople and the ancient Ukrainian church, Sawchuk harboured a life-long suspicion of and even antagonism towards the Patriarchate because of what he saw as a pro-Russian attitude. To him, both Rome and Constantinople were enemies of Ukrainian interests.

Early in 1935 Swystun jumped into what had hitherto been a relatively private and internal Teodorovych-consistory disagreement by attacking both Sawchuk and Teodorovych in the press for abandoning the Kievan canons of 1921.<sup>46</sup> To Swystun's argument that the UGOC had accepted these canons when it received Teodorovych, Sawchuk responded in *Ukrainskyi holos* that the UGOC had had only a spiritual connection with the Autocephalous church, which disappeared with its liquidation. The UGOC, according to the consistory, had never compromised its independence or accepted the Kievan canons or Kievan authority. Teodorovych's function in the UGOC was that of an independent Canadian hierarch and not an extension of the Autocephalous church.<sup>47</sup> Swystun, however, was not totally incorrect in his interpretation of the contentious UGOC-Kievan relationship, for there was indeed a legacy of deliberate ambiguity

promoted by Sawchuk himself.

It was clear that the final showdown between Sawchuk and Swystun would take place at the scheduled general church council in July 1935. Sawchuk set aside his differences with the archbishop and worked hard to convene a council which would support the consistory on the issue of Canadian-Kievan relations.<sup>48</sup> The bottom line was the preservation of the present nature and unity of the UGOC, which would undoubtedly fragment if Swystun won over the council. A segment of opinion did sympathize with his concept of a reformed Orthodox church but, luckily for Sawchuk, it disapproved of his confrontational tactics. The USRL power brokers, including the Stechishin brothers, considered Sawchuk indispensable to the survival of the UGOC and threw their critical support behind him.<sup>49</sup>

The organized Sawchuk-Teodorovych force not only censured and humiliated Swystun on the day but also had the council proceedings published for greater impact.<sup>50</sup> The fiesty Swystun did not take defeat lightly. At his stronghold, the cathedral of St Mary the Protectress, he hastily organized the Ukrainian Church Defence Brotherhood, which attacked the legitimacy of the church council. Relations between the consistory and the Swystunites deteriorated further when the consistory and the archbishop suspended Swystun's pastor, the Reverend Petro Mayevsky, for breach of church discipline. The resulting litigation between the consistory and the parish dragged on until 1940 and produced mixed blessings for the UGOC. On the purely legal front, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled against the consistory over control of the cathedral parish, but it affirmed the UGOC's authority as a corporation to enforce jurisdictional discipline over member congregations and the clergy. The vast majority of parishes recognized the need for some sort of centralized authority and readily supported the consistory in its effort to assert its leadership; they also accepted the loss of the cathedral as the price for the expulsion of troublesome dissidents.

Sawchuk's victory solidified his own leadership and enhanced his power as administrator. More importantly, it signified that the UGOC would remain a relatively traditional Orthodox church, albeit more democratic than most as Sawchuk's struggle against Swystun compelled him to continue to rely on the USRL as a source of lay church leadership. A glance at the consistory membership in the 1940s and 1950s demonstrates clearly the powerful influence of the USRL in church affairs.<sup>51</sup> Indeed, to an outsider the UGOC had the appearance of being the religious arm of the USRL.

## *The Archbishop Mstyslav Skrypnyk Controversy*

Sawchuk had always believed that Canada should have its own bishop rather than share one with the United States. Although this view was strengthened by Teodorovych's unceasing search for a canonical connection with the Patriarch of Constantinople, Ukrainian Orthodox bishops' were very scarce in the 1930s. Only in the aftermath of the Second World War did the acquisition of a Ukrainian Orthodox bishop for Canada become possible, helped by events overseas. During the German occupation of Ukraine, a new version of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox church had been established, this time canonically. Headed by Metropolitan Polikarp Sikorsky, its hierarchy of eleven bishops and archbishops found refuge in postwar Germany.

But the Autocephalous church was not the only potential source of hierarchy for Canada. Professor Ivan Ohienko, Sawchuk's former tutor in church affairs and an internationally renowned Slavic scholar, had been consecrated as archbishop Ilarion of the Orthodox church of Poland in 1940; there was no question about the legitimacy of his canonical status. During the war Ohienko had distinguished himself as an effective church administrator and an energetic Ukrainian community leader. In 1945, however, he was both a metropolitan without a church and a refugee, temporarily residing in Switzerland. Sawchuk initially looked favourably on bringing him to Canada as a replacement for Teodorovych,<sup>52</sup> but Ohienko no longer reflected the progressive views of his secular past, even suggesting that the UGOC was uncanonical because of Teodorovych. Simultaneously, his willingness to assume primacy over the UGOC if offered the opportunity implied that his presence would make it canonical. Sawchuk's high personal regard for Ohienko's scholarship and proven leadership qualities notwithstanding, it soon became clear that such a patronizing attitude and highly conservative interpretation of canon law would be incompatible with the ideology and tradition of the Canadian church.<sup>53</sup> Ohienko's candidacy was dropped and Sawchuk turned to Sikorsky of the Autocephalous church, with whom Ohienko feuded over wartime issues. For his part, realizing that he was no longer welcome in Canada, Archbishop Teodorovych graciously resigned as head of the UGOC in 1946 pending selection of a successor. The UGOC church council authorized Sawchuk to repeat his search of 1923. Although civilian travel to Europe remained difficult in 1946, Sawchuk as a Canadian military chaplain was able to visit Ukrainian refugees and the Autocephalous hierarchy in Germany. He had positive discussions with Sikorsky and reached an understanding with the Autocephalous church while maintaining the cherished jurisdictional independence of the

UGOC.<sup>54</sup>

As the candidate to head the UGOC, Sawchuk selected Bishop Mstyslav Skrypnyk, a prominent Ukrainian politician in interwar Poland who had been consecrated in 1942 without being a priest earlier.<sup>55</sup> Sawchuk was impressed with the bishop's intelligence, energy, and pledge to uphold the traditions of the UGOC, never realizing that in less than a year he would be engaged in a power struggle reminiscent of the Swystun affair. An extraordinary church council convened in Winnipeg in October 1947 elected Mstyslav Skrypnyk "archbishop of Winnipeg and all Canada" and established a tentative link (as between two equals) with the Autocephalous church. The enthronement of Skrypnyk signified that the UGOC finally had its own Canadian primate.

But for Sawchuk a dark cloud loomed on the horizon. Two months earlier Metropolitan Ilarion Ohienko had arrived in Winnipeg to assume pastoral duties at the outlaw cathedral of St Mary the Protectress at the instigation of Wasyl Swystun, who was perhaps motivated by revenge.<sup>56</sup> Winnipeg was suddenly the seat of two rival Ukrainian Orthodox hierarchs. Ohienko, who loved to publish, almost immediately launched his own journal, *Slovo istyny*, which became an instrument of serious scholarship as well as self-glorification and unceasing sniping at the "uncanonical" UGOC, Skrypnyk, and Sikorsky. *Vistnyk* and Mstyslav's personal journal, *Tserkva i narid*, turned their "cannons" on Ohienko and a polemical inter-Orthodox war erupted, much to the delight of the Catholics and Protestants. Sawchuk had anticipated the unpleasant ramifications of having a resentful and influential Ohienko so close, but he could do little except to try to isolate him from the mainstream Orthodox community. This was not easy because that community was in a state of flux.

The arrival, with the postwar displaced persons immigration, of thousands of traditional Orthodox believers, often from Eastern Ukraine and Volhynia, who were not converts like those in Canada, changed the mix in the UGOC. Many of the new immigrants gravitated to the urban centres of eastern Canada, where they quickly established parishes. A number of Orthodox priests from various parts of Ukraine also arrived from overseas, either independently or sponsored by the consistory. Sawchuk even imported two outstanding Ukrainian scholars, the historian Dmytro Doroshenko and the theologian Ivan Wlasowsky, to strengthen the newly established St Andrew's theological college in Winnipeg. Wlasowsky, who had been a close collaborator of Metropolitan Sikorsky and became Archbishop Skrypnyk's chief adviser and defender of European Orthodoxy, was appalled by the improvised Orthodoxy practiced in Canada and said so publicly. Such tactlessness alienated the



"old Canadian" Orthodox establishment, which expected the newcomers to be grateful and appreciative of the proud achievements of the pioneers.<sup>57</sup>

The honeymoon between Archbishop Mstyslav and the consistory was short as serious ideological differences, rooted in the absence of clear divisions of responsibility between the consistory and the primate, escalated into a power struggle that again almost split the church. It was obvious that Skrypnyk was not going to be a mere figurehead like his predecessor. Although Sawchuk was prepared to relinquish some of his customary administrative authority for a form of collective leadership with Skrypnyk, the available evidence and Skrypnyk's subsequent actions suggest that the archbishop disliked the team approach and wanted to be in complete control.<sup>58</sup> He considered the consistory an advisory not an executive body. Citing both Canadian tradition and theological sources, Sawchuk challenged Mstyslav's monarchical principle to insist that bishops were essentially servants not masters of the church. Agreeable to cooperation but totally opposed to subordination, Sawchuk and the consistory found themselves on a collision course with Skrypnyk, as both sides suspected and accused each other of harbouring "dictatorial" ambitions.<sup>59</sup> In contrast to the Swystun crisis, where Sawchuk had defended the authority of the church hierarchy, he was now defending church democracy against Skrypnyk's innate authoritarianism, something he had missed in his initial interviews with the archbishop.

A second but related source of friction between the administrator and the archbishop lay in the UGOC's relationship with the rest of the Ukrainian Orthodox community in diaspora and the ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. While favouring limited inter-Orthodox cooperation, Sawchuk remained true to his 1930s position on Teodorovych and stood firmly for complete independence of the UGOC. Skrypnyk, in contrast, was a passionate promoter of inter-Orthodox consolidation and perceived the UGOC as the nucleus of a unified global Ukrainian Orthodox church. The official extinction of Ukrainian Orthodoxy in Soviet Ukraine made a worldwide autocephalous church embracing far-flung Ukrainian emigrant communities essential, it was believed, to preserve the idea of an independent national church. To promote this concept Skrypnyk became involved in Ukrainian church affairs in the United States,<sup>60</sup> thereby demonstrating remarkable ignorance of the Canadian church tradition and psyche. He was contemptuous of Sawchuk, had no patience with the consistory, and chose the advice of his "new Canadian" friends over that of the "old Canadian" pioneer generation, behaviour that compounded the urgent problem of authority in the church. While the immigrant European clergy supported a monarchical concept of



leadership, UGOC traditionalists were determined to preserve their unique system.

Despite the consistory's repeated opposition, Skrypnyk became deeply embroiled in American Orthodox politics. First, he helped to orchestrate the long-anticipated reconsecration (or the "completion" of consecration) of Ioan Teodorovych. Second, he assumed spiritual authority over a faction of clergy in the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople that had rebelled against their bishop, Bohdan Shpylka. Sawchuk and the consistory were angered by such independent actions and the implications for their church. The reconsecration issue, which Sawchuk had steadfastly opposed, cast an embarrassing shadow of canonical illegitimacy over the majority of Canadian priests, who had been ordained by Teodorovych. More importantly, Skrypnyk's dual leadership, and through it the implied subordination of the UGOC to Constantinople, challenged the cherished independence of the Canadian church. "Can a bishop head two churches which are mutually incompatible?" *Vistnyk* asked.<sup>61</sup> The consistory—and the USRL, until now marginal to the controversy—emphatically answered no. Although initially Sawchuk had kept the consistory's difficulties with the archbishop private and refrained from bringing the clergy or laity into the picture, a public showdown became inevitable when Skrypnyk forced the issue by resigning from the primacy of the Canadian church but leaving the final decision to the general church council scheduled for June 1950 in Saskatoon.

At the tense and heated confrontation between the archbishop and the "old Canadians," ideologies and personalities clashed. Sawchuk had been assured support from the USRL, but the presence of "new Canadian" delegates at the council clouded the outcome as it was assumed they would back Skrypnyk. Sawchuk depicted the archbishop as an irresponsible and thus dangerous leader, and undermined Skrypnyk's moral and administrative credibility by reading into the record copies of Mstyslav's letters to Polikarp containing personal attacks on Sawchuk and other consistory members.<sup>62</sup> But the essence of Sawchuk's argument was that Skrypnyk, by assuming leadership over the Ukrainian Orthodox church of America, a dependency of Constantinople, had lost his right to lead the Canadian church. The general council, as the supreme body of the UGOC, narrowly upheld Sawchuk's position by accepting Skrypnyk's resignation. The archbishop departed to the United States where he joined forces with Ioan Teodorovych and later succeeded him as metropolitan. In 1990 the elderly but still fiesty and controversial Skrypnyk made history when he returned to Ukraine to be elected the first patriarch of the third formation of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Ortho-

dox church.

Having defeated Skrypnyk and the concept of monarchical hierarchy, Sawchuk moved quickly to heal a budding rift in the church, although his offer to retire from the consistory was rejected. To placate the pro-Skrypnyk faction, on Sawchuk's recommendation the general council placed the UGOC under Metropolitan Polikarp Sikorsky pending election of a new primate. Finally, it was decided to assure complete independence of the UGOC and a self-perpetuating hierarchy by establishing a metropolitanate of three bishops.<sup>63</sup>

### *The Establishment of the Metropolitanate*

In the months between the council of June 1950 which terminated Skrypnyk's tenure in Canada and the extraordinary council of August 1951, Sawchuk and the consistory made preparations for the proposed Ukrainian Canadian metropolitanate. Archbishop Mykhail Khoroshy, curator of the Orthodox Theological Academy in Munich, was designated primate of the UGOC, while Bishop Platon Artemiuk of Germany and the respected Reverend Wasyl Kudryk of Canada were proposed as bishops. Yet the consistory could not ignore the high profile presence of Metropolitan Ilarion Ohienko, who, since his arrival in Winnipeg, had engaged in energetic but unsuccessful efforts to create his own Ukrainian North American church in the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Despite his criticism of the UGOC, he had a number of supporters there, especially in Judge Michael Stechishin, who steadily lobbied Sawchuk and other church and USRL leaders to reach an understanding with the metropolitan.

In summer 1950 Ohienko was ready to negotiate seriously with the UGOC.<sup>64</sup> Frustrated by contradictory signals from Constantinople and eager to head a real church, he dropped his criticism of the UGOC, attributing it to a "misunderstanding." Notwithstanding Ohienko's thorny personality, Sawchuk and the consistory also saw the benefits of having him on side instead of in opposition, especially in the volatile post-Skrypnyk period, and prepared to abandon their original choice for primate in his favour, provided the metropolitan formally and publicly recognized the canonicity of the UGOC. The sudden death of Bishop Platon Artemiuk accelerated confidential negotiations between Ohienko and the consistory. To prevent future conflicts between the consistory and the primate, clarifying the division of power within the UGOC leadership, Sawchuk drew up terms which Ohienko was obliged to sign. The extraordinary council meeting in Winnipeg in August 1951 unanimously elected Ohienko, whose candidacy Sawchuk formally presented, as "metropolitan of Winnipeg and all of Canada." Archbishop Khoroshy, a

good Christian, had willingly relinquished his claims to primacy in order to maintain church unity and harmony. As the Reverend Kudryk declined the honour of the bishop's office, the metropolitanate initially consisted of the minimum two hierarchs.

The creation of a metropolitanate signalled the completion of the formative process of the UGOC. After thirty-three years the Canadian church had matured into a self-perpetuating institution, for as long as it had at least two hierarchs it had the canonical power to consecrate new bishops without seeking help from other Orthodox churches. Furthermore, the acquisition of Ohienko, whose own canonical stature was beyond reproach, raised the morale of the clergy and enhanced the prestige of the UGOC in the Orthodox world. The canonical status of the UGOC as an ecclesiastical jurisdiction, however, remained ambiguous until 1990. The tumultuous events of 1950-1 exhausted Sawchuk emotionally and physically. He took a leave of absence, and for the first time since 1922 the UGOC was without his leadership. He returned in 1955 and served as chairman of the executive of the consistory until shifting his attention to St Andrew's College, where he was rector, in 1963. Sawchuk remained a force, albeit a diminishing one, in Ukrainian Orthodox life until his death in 1983 at the age of eighty-eight.

## Conclusion

What does Sawchuk represent in the Ukrainian Canadian experience? He typified that pioneer generation of the tiny community elite that assumed that it had a moral and patriotic duty to instill a sense of national consciousness in the great mass of Ukrainian immigrants. But unlike most of his contemporaries, Sawchuk chose the more difficult religious path to the fulfillment of his perceived destiny. The UGOC with its ecclesiastical democracy (*sobornopravnist*), secular brotherhoods, and parish autonomy needed a dedicated, strong-willed, and pragmatic leader with a sense of humour to survive its growing pains and turn it into a major ecclesiastical body. Ukrainian born and Canadian educated, Sawchuk proved to be such a leader. Under his direction, the UGOC and its lay affiliate, the USRL, fought parochial regionalism by promoting modern Ukrainian national consciousness and active Canadian citizenship.

Sawchuk correctly assumed that the establishment of the UGOC had also a positive impact on the Greek Catholic church, which was obliged to reaffirm its Ukrainian profile in order to compete for the allegiance of the faithful. While consistently defending his vision of the UGOC against internal and external criticism, Sawchuk was not a religious bigot. He preached the peaceful co-existence of all Ukrainian religious denomina-

tions in Canada, especially when general community interests were at stake. In the late 1930s, for example, when various efforts at community consolidation were undertaken, Sawchuk advocated a national representative committee based on the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox churches and their secular affiliates. Although this novel approach for Ukrainian unity in Canada failed, he continued to promote consolidation and played an active role in the eventual formation of a national coordinating body, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

Next to preserving its Ukrainian character and Orthodox doctrines, Sawchuk championed the ecclesiastical independence of the UGOC. He consistently opposed all forms of foreign jurisdictional domination and accepted only limited cooperation with other Ukrainian Orthodox churches. How then would he have reacted to the decision of the extraordinary general council of the renamed Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada of October 1989 and the general council of July 1990 to place the Canadian church in the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople? Would he have been shocked and dismayed at the seeming betrayal of his cherished principle of independence? In his semi-retirement Sawchuk had been keenly aware that the policy of splendid isolation identified with him and the USRL was not popular with the majority of the clergy, who wanted to be accepted as equals by other Orthodox denominations. A man of his intelligence would have realized that it was only a matter of time before the nagging question of canonicity had to be resolved once and for all. A democrat, he would have grudgingly accepted the council decision as he had in 1924.

The post-Sawchuk leadership of the 1970-80s moved slowly but steadily towards meaningful inter-Orthodox relations despite Sawchuk's objections. Metropolitan Wasyly Fedak, like Sawchuk Ukrainian born and Canadian educated, spearheaded the reconciliation, made possible because of the steady decline of the influence of the USRL with its philosophy of self-sufficiency in church affairs. The decision of July 1990 can be seen as a logical progression in the evolution of the UGOC. Having outgrown its Ukrainian Canadian parochialism, it was now ready to admit that its canonical status was in doubt and take the appropriate steps to acquire legitimacy in the Orthodox world through a special eucharistical relationship with the ecumenical patriarchate.<sup>65</sup> Perhaps more importantly, these steps were taken without sacrificing the church's actual independence and without abandoning its unique Ukrainian Canadian tradition that Sawchuk to his death insisted was its most important cornerstone.<sup>66</sup> As behooves a democratic institution, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada changed not only its name but also its orientation in accordance with the changing wishes of a changing membership.



## Notes

1. See Odarka Trosky, *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada* (Winnipeg 1968); Zbirnyk materialiv z nahody iuvileinoho roku 50-littia Ukrainskoi Hreko-Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy v Kanadi, 1918-1968 (Winnipeg 1968); Paul Yuzyk, *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, 1918-1951* (Ottawa 1981); and the monumental four-volume study by Iurii Mulyk-Lutsyk, *Istoriia Ukrainskoi Hreko-Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy v Kanadi* (Winnipeg 1984-89).
2. The most incisive analysis of the pioneer Ukrainian intelligentsia is to be found in Orest Martynowych's excellent study, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924* (Edmonton 1991), 169-81, 237-305.
3. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 27 August 1910; see also Iulian Stechyshyn, *Mizh ukrainsiamy v Kanadi* (Saskatoon 1953), 8-12.
4. For a sympathetic view of Budka, see Stella Hryniuk, "Pioneer Bishop, Pioneer Times: Nykyta Budka in Canada," *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Historical Studies* 54 (1988): 21-41; for the Orthodox perspective, see Mulyk-Lutsyk, *Istoriia*, III, 162-84.
5. In the Semen W. Sawchuk Papers, UGOC Consistory, Winnipeg, see Michael Stechishin to Semen Sawchuk, 20 March 1934; Semen Savchuk, "Osnovni zasady Ukrainskoi Hreko-Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy v Kanadi," unpublished Convocation address, St Andrew's College, 28 April 1950; and "Ideolohichni zasady UHPTserkvy v Kanadi," unpublished address to the fifteenth general council of the UGOC, 3 July 1975. Although unorganized, Sawchuk's archive contains a wealth of information for the patient researcher and has been the source for information not otherwise acknowledged in this article.
6. Circular of the National Committee, 26 June 1918, *ibid*.
7. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 7 August 1918; see also *Vistnyk*, 18 August 1949. Michael Stechishin appears to have been the first dissident to advance the concept of a reborn Ukrainian Orthodox church in Canada, in 1917; Michael Stechishin to Semen Sawchuk, 20 March 1934, Sawchuk Papers.
8. Report, confidential meeting, 18-19 July 1918, Sawchuk Papers; and *Ukrainskyi holos*, 7 August 1918.
9. Church property was to belong to and be managed by the local congregation, whose consent was also needed to appoint or dismiss its priest; bishops were to be chosen by a general council of priests and lay delegates of all congregations. Greek Catholic structures were quite different; see *Constitution and By-laws of the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church in Canada* (Winnipeg 1913).
10. The bishop's office is seen as a direct succession of the offices of the Apostles whom Christ himself had chosen and entrusted with full spiritual powers, and who, in turn, passed the office to their successors by the sacramental laying on of hands; in practice at least two bishops are required to consecrate a new bishop. See E. Benz, *The Eastern Orthodox Church* (Chicago 1963), 68.
11. See Paul Yuzyk, "The Expansion of the Russian Orthodox Church in North America to 1918," unpublished paper, 1950; and M.G. Kovach, "The Russian Orthodox Church in Russian America" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1957).



12. Semen Sawchuk to Ivan Ohienko, 22 April 1922, Ivan Ohienko (Metropolitan Ilarion) Papers, UGOC Consistory.
13. Panteleimon Bozhyk, *Tserkov ukraintsiv v Kanadi* (Winnipeg 1927), 193. A Bukovynian Ukrainian who initially served in the Russian mission in Canada, Bozhyk subsequently joined the Greek Catholic clergy and waged a slanderous campaign against the UGOC.
14. This is the theme of *Muzh idei i pratsi: V 50-littia zhurnalistychnoi ta tserkovnoi pratsi o. V. Kudryka* (Winnipeg 1958).
15. Mykola Kopachuk, administrator, Ukrainian Orthodox Diocese of America (Chicago), to Ivan Ohienko, 23 January 1923, Ohienko Papers.
16. Semen Sawchuk to Ivan Ohienko, 18 January 1922, *ibid.*
17. Semen Sawchuk to Michael Stechishin, 16 April 1957, Sawchuk Papers.
18. Ohienko, as a promoter of the concept of a national autocephalous Orthodox church, was the one who contacted the Canadian Brotherhood, in May 1921; see "Do slavnoho ukrainskoho pravoslavnoho tserkovnoho bratstva v Saskatuni, Amerytsi," Ohienko Papers. When Ohienko consulted Bishop Dionisiy Valedynsky of Kremenets, the future primate of the Orthodox church of Poland, about assisting the Canadian church, Dionisiy was prepared to cooperate because he considered the UGOC under Germanos a canonical church; Dionisiy to Ivan Ohienko, 24 December 1921, *ibid.*
19. Semen Sawchuk to Ivan Ohienko, 27 October 1921, 24 April 1922, Sawchuk Papers.
20. Semen Sawchuk to Michael Stechishin, 18 December 1922, *ibid.*
21. On the Orthodox church of Poland, see I. Vlasovsky, *Narys istorii Ukrainiskoi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy*, IV, 2 (New York 1966), 5-176; and O. Kurapanets, *Pravoslavna tserkva v mizhvoiennii Polshchi, 1919-1939* (Rome 1974). On the Autocephalous church, see Bohdan Bociurkiw, "The Autocephalous Church Movement in Ukraine: The Formative Stage, 1917-21," *Ukrainian Quarterly* 16, no. 3 (Autumn 1960): 211-23; O. Zinkevych and O. Voronyn, eds., *Martyrolohiia ukrainskykh tserkov*, I (Ukrainska Pravoslavna Tserkva) (Toronto and Baltimore 1987), 29-537; and V. Lypkivsky, *Vidrodzhennia tserkvy v Ukraini, 1917-1930* (Toronto 1959).
22. Zinkevych and Voronyn, *Martyrolohiia*, 231-537, provide detailed documentation on the persecution and liquidation of the Autocephalous church.
23. Ivan Ohienko to Semen Sawchuk, no. 1564, June 1922, Sawchuk Papers.
24. The autocephalous-autonomous controversy is discussed in Oleh Gerus, "The Ukrainian Orthodox Church during World War II," *Vira i kultura* (forthcoming, Summer 1993 issue).
25. Ivan Ohienko to Semen Sawchuk, 3 April 1923, Sawchuk Papers.
26. As a parish priest at Canora, Saskatchewan, in 1920 Sawchuk had earned \$50 a month, considerably less than the \$125 paid a store clerk; Semen Sawchuk to the Ukrainian Orthodox Brotherhood, 5 October 1920, *ibid.*
27. Myroslav Stechishin to Michael Stechishin, 27 July 1923, *ibid.*

28. "Here [in Western Ukraine] 'uncanonicity' is being slowly diffused and forgotten because the Autocephalous church has gained much respect due to its genuine democracy and nationalism"; Ivan Ohienko to Semen Sawchuk, 21 June 1924, *ibid.*
29. Myroslav Stechishin to Michael Stechishin, 16 January 1923, *ibid.*
30. Sawchuk's view of canon law as a subjective political tool was later outlined in *Tserkovni kanony v teorii i praktytsi* (Winnipeg 1955).
31. *Vistnyk*, 1 October 1949.
32. On the shortage of priests, see *Zbirnyk materiialiv*, 10-13; Semen Sawchuk's diary records how he performed pastoral duties for congregations in rural Manitoba lacking permanent priests. On the early history of the USRL, see Oleh W. Gerus, "Consolidating the Community: The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League," in Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk, eds., *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity* (Toronto 1992), 157-86.
33. Semen Savchuk, *Piatnadtsiat lit pratsi Ukrainskoi Hreko-Pravoslavnoi Tserkovy v Kanadi* (Winnipeg 1933), 3-15; and Vasyl Kudryk, *Chuzha ruka abo khto roziednuie ukrainskyi narid* (Winnipeg 1935).
34. A. Baran, "Relihiini i sotsiialni problemy Ukrainskoi Katolytskoi Tserkvy v Kanadi," in *Zbirnyk tysiacholittia khrystiianstva v Ukraini, 988-1988*, ed. A. Baran and O. Gerus (Winnipeg 1991), 125-33.
35. *Vistnyk*, 1 March 1940.
36. Myroslav Stechishin to Michael Stechishin, 23 March 1934, Sawchuk Papers.
37. P. Mayevsky, "My Work as a Priest in Canada, in the City of Winnipeg," in *45th Anniversary of the Rebirth of the Church in Ukraine, 1921-1966* (Los Angeles 1966), 154.
38. Semen Sawchuk to Michael Stechishin, 16 April 1934, Sawchuk Papers.
39. See Semen Sawchuk to Ioan Teodorovych, 18 December 1929, *ibid.*
40. Michael Stechishin to Ioan Teodorovych, 20 December 1929, *ibid.*
41. Wasyl Swystun to Michael Stechishin, 14 March 1934, *ibid.*
42. Semen Sawchuk to Michael Stechishin, 8 March 1934, *ibid.*
43. Wasyl Swystun to Michael Stechishin, 17 March 1934, *ibid.* In fact Sawchuk was an effective speaker with a sharp sense of humour, a quality Swystun sadly lacked.
44. Michael Stechishin to Wasyl Swystun, 19 March 1934, *ibid.*
45. Semen Sawchuk to Wasyl Kudryk, 16 October 1931, *ibid.*
46. Vasyl Svystun, *Dogmatychno-kanonichne stanovyshe Ukrainskoi Hreko-Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy v Kanadi* (Winnipeg 1935).
47. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 30 March 1935; and Michael Stechishin to Semen Sawchuk, 3 August 1965, Sawchuk Papers.
48. Consistory circular to the clergy, No. 8830-8853, Sawchuk Papers.
49. Myroslav Stechishin to Michael Stechishin, 18 March 1934, *ibid.*
50. *Protokol semoho soboru Ukrainskoi Hreko-Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy v Kanadi* (Winnipeg 1935).

51. The following members of the consistory, which was considerably enlarged in 1951, were all prominent in the USRL: the three Stechishins, J. Syrnyk, P. Lazarowich, J. Arsenych, J. Solomon, P. Kondra, P. Smylsky, T. Humeniuk, A. Pawlik, L. Faryna. In 1938 Swystun joined the USRL's rival, the Ukrainian National Federation, as its vice-president, and helped organize the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. In 1945 he adopted a pro-Soviet position while remaining an Orthodox Christian and member of St Mary the Protectress. He died in 1963. Swystun's papers remain in the hands of his family.
52. Semen Sawchuk to Petro Samets, 30 July 1946, Sawchuk Papers; and Semen Sawchuk to Ivan Ohienko, 6 July 1945, Ohienko Papers.
53. Sawchuk presented the details of his communication with Ohienko to the extraordinary general council of the UGOC, 12-13 November 1947; *Vistnyk*, 1 and 14 April 1948; Ohienko's position was presented to Sawchuk in a major essay, "Riatuimo ukrainsku tserkvu" (1945).
54. Sawchuk's account of his European search, taken from his diaries, was published in *Vistnyk*, 15 July, 15 October, and 15 November 1946.
55. *Vistnyk*, 1 October 1947.
56. See Wasyl Swystun to Ivan Ohienko, 28 March and 30 October 1945, 28 January and 15 November 1946, Ohienko Papers.
57. See, for example, Michael Stechishin to Ivan Ohienko, 30 April 1950, *ibid.*
58. Mstyslav Skrypnyk to John Hundiak (United States), 28 January 1949, and Polikarp Sikorsky, 25 October 1950, *ibid.*
59. Minutes, meeting of the consistory, 1 December 1949, Sawchuk Papers.
60. *Vistnyk*, 15 February 1950.
61. *Ibid.*, 15 October 1949.
62. For example, in a letter to Metropolitan Sikorsky, 17 February 1949, Skrypnyk referred to "the obvious banditry of my consistory priests"; Sawchuk Papers. How Sawchuk and Ohienko managed to obtain copies of Skrypnyk's confidential correspondence remains a mystery.
63. Minutes, meeting of the consistory, 24-5 October 1950, Sawchuk Papers.
64. See Oleh W. Gerus, "Metropolitan Ilarion Ohienko and the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada," in O. Gerus and A. Baran, eds., *Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine, 988-1988* (Winnipeg 1989), 239-74.
65. "Report of the Presidium of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada, the Very Rev. Dr. Stephan Jarmus, to the Eighteenth Sobor," *Delegates' Manual for the Eighteenth Sobor of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada*, 4-8 July 1990 (Winnipeg), 62-5.
66. "To take away the Ukrainian language, to take away the Ukrainian ideology, to take away the Ukrainian liturgical music, to take away Ukrainian religious rituals and traditions such as Ukrainian Christmas and Easter rites, to take away the church calendar, is to end the UGOC itself....it would remain a church or an ecclesiastical organization but it would not be a Ukrainian church"; *Protokol piatnadtsiatoho soboru UHPTs v Kanadi*, 2-6 July 1975 (Winnipeg), 29.

## **Backdrop to an Era: The Ukrainian Canadian Stage in the Interwar Years**

*Jars Balan*

Perhaps nothing better captures the spirit of Ukrainian Canadian society in the two decades between the world wars than the virtual explosion of theatrical activity that characterized community life in halls and auditoriums from Sydney, Nova Scotia, to Vancouver, British Columbia. Indeed, viewed from the perspective of a century of Ukrainian settlement in Canada, the interwar years comprised a "golden age" in the history of the Ukrainian-language stage in the New World. Amateur drama groups could be found in far-flung hamlets across the prairies and in company towns on the country's resource frontiers. They were no less numerous in the blue-collar districts of emerging industrial centres, and were especially vibrant in the large Ukrainian enclaves within Canada's growing metropolitan areas. They appear to have reached a peak in number, and in productivity, sometime between the mid 1920s and the late 1930s. However, there were pronounced regional and local fluctuations in levels of participation and intensity, and some drama groups experienced periods of expansion, decline, dormancy, and revival, all within this fifteen-year span. These variations reflected such things as peculiar local conditions, the spread of institutional networks, and demographic shifts and migration patterns in the Ukrainian Canadian population. In the absence of a comprehensive performance history of the immigrant stage (notwithstanding some helpful spadework in this area), it would be premature to draw too many conclusions on the basis of existing information. For instance, although a number of sources claim that the popularity of the immigrant stage declined steadily in the 1930s, in some communities drama groups only started during the Depression, and in others they were at their most vigorous shortly before the outbreak of the Second World War.

## Background

A variety of factors contributed to this blossoming of the ethnic theatre, the first being the increase in and maturation of Ukrainian institutions in the decade after the Great War. By 1920 Ukrainian immigrants had been in Canada long enough to have put the worst hardships of pioneering behind them, and to have fully settled—psychologically as well as physically—into their new environment. A few had even achieved a measure of comfort and prosperity, which enabled them to redirect some of their energies from the challenges of merely surviving and getting ahead, to more cultural and recreational pursuits like the enjoyment of the performing arts.

Similarly, by the conclusion of the turbulent teen years, a solid organizational groundwork existed in the more established Ukrainian settlements, where a host of churches and reading societies (*chytalni*) had successfully been launched in the preceding two decades. However, the vast majority of community halls were built in the peacetime period that followed in conjunction with a rapid expansion of the institutional framework of Ukrainian Canadian society. Preliminary research, for example, shows that of approximately 105 Ukrainian halls (*narodni domy*) constructed in Alberta before 1940, all but four were erected between 1920 and 1939.<sup>1</sup>

The proliferating structures were usually affiliated, either officially or informally, with larger regional and national bodies representing a broad spectrum of political and religious orientations. The creation of these networks not only contributed to the heightened interest in theatre, but also made possible the easy dissemination of the texts which provided the repertoire of the immigrant stage.

Also by the war's end Ukrainian bookstores could be found in every major North American city with a sizeable Ukrainian-speaking population, offering an impressive array of playscripts imported from the homeland and an ever-growing body of works printed by New World publishers. Since an extensive mail-order business was conducted with amateur ensembles in both the adjacent countryside and more remote hinterland, small and isolated community halls were sometimes able to assemble surprisingly large and diverse libraries of theatrical literature. In addition, bookstores carried essential theatrical supplies such as wigs, fake moustaches, and make-up, providing another useful service for clients otherwise without ready access to these accessories.<sup>2</sup> In short, by 1920 a well-developed support apparatus was firmly in place to meet the demands of the burgeoning immigrant theatre.

The arrival of a fresh wave of immigrants beginning in 1923 helped



to consolidate further the existing structures, simultaneously injecting them with new blood, innovative ideas, and a revitalized sense of purpose. Political émigrés among the newcomers were responsible for transplanting offshoots of post-revolutionary monarchist and republican nationalist movements, contributing to the ideological factionalization of the Ukrainian Canadian community but indirectly stimulating creativity and cultural activism. In fact, the intense competition that arose between rival Ukrainian camps in the 1920s had the positive effect of spurring theatrical enterprise to its greatest heights, as both pioneer associations and the ascendant political organizations vied to win members and extend their influence among Ukrainians throughout the country. Interestingly, Canadian authorities were keenly aware of these developments, having closely monitored the "alien" population during the war for signs of unrest or disloyalty. Recognizing the importance of the spoken word to a still pre- or semi-literate people, they were especially concerned about the political content of immigrant theatre and its impact on Ukrainian Canadian society. By 1920 that society was nearly 200,000 strong and a feared source of potential trouble in view of the recent labour strife at home and the upheavals then rocking eastern Europe.

An anonymous police informer had this to say about the subversive role of the Ukrainian Canadian stage in a confidential memorandum submitted by Commissioner C.F. Hamilton of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to the Governor General's office on 21 August 1921:

With the same uniformity of plan and purpose, from the St. Lawrence river to the Pacific Ocean the adult community of the Ukrainians is being assailed through the media of music and the drama. The simpler form of the attack is the revolutionary concert and dance. A concert will be put on, the songs etc. being of a revolutionary nature; one or two revolutionary speeches will be interspersed; and the proceedings will be concluded by a dance. This sort of entertainment, it may be asserted, is being given continually, all over the country. Wherever possible, they proceed from this rudimentary form to dramatic entertainments, and perform revolutionary plays, most of which, it may be suspected, are homemade.<sup>3</sup>

The report went on to provide a fascinating account of a one-act play mounted in rural Saskatchewan. It told the story of a brother and sister, who, as university students, embraced "the Marxian creed" and began demanding money from their wealthy father to pay for their revolutionary activities. When the father took steps to disinherit his rebellious offspring and leave his fortune to the village priest instead, his daughter murdered the cleric and ended up in jail, while his son was executed for the crime after a "farcical" trial. The tale concluded somewhat optimisti-

cally, however, since the daughter was eventually freed following the triumph of the revolution. Summarizing his impressions, the informer noted that "atrocious as this melodrama is, and acted as it was by amateurs in a little village hall, it exercised a powerful effect, the women sobbing and the men showing intense excitement." He then added: "Other such dramas recently acted have been 'The Crown of Thorns'; 'Injustice in the Courts of Russia'—it being carefully explained that the courts of Canada are just as bad as those depicted; [and] 'How the Priests Rob the People', this having sundry salacious attacks on the clergy."<sup>4</sup>

Perhaps most significantly, however, the socialist slant formed only part of what the informant regarded as seditious about these "revolutionary" entertainments. The fact that the immigrant stage was deliberately being deployed in "a determined fight....against Canadianization and assimilation" was in some ways even more worrisome than the spectre of communism for suspicious Anglo-Canadian chauvinists, wary of having another restive minority (namely, a second Quebec) on their hands.<sup>5</sup> According to the memorandum's author, "the methods employed are voluntary schools, the teaching of the Ukrainian language, the keeping alive of Ukrainian songs and music, and the appearance of a rude cultural movement"—all described as encouraging "a dislike of and contempt for Canada" and an "antagonistic attitude to Canadian civilization."<sup>6</sup>

And so while some of the fears aroused by the Ukrainian Canadian stage were rooted in the "Red Scare" atmosphere of the era, no small part of the anxiety stemmed from a fundamental disapproval of the Ukrainian community's attempt to maintain a distinct language, culture, and identity. Ironically, a sense of mission in promoting "Ukrainianism" was probably the chief well-spring of the Ukrainian theatre in Canada throughout its long history—the staging of plays in the native tongue being a conscious form of resistance to the relentless pressures of anglicization. Of course, the popularity of live drama during the interwar years may also be attributable to a lack of competition from outside sources. Notwithstanding occasional claims to the contrary, cinema and radio do not appear to have offered alternative diversions to most Ukrainian Canadians until the late 1930s.<sup>7</sup> Persisting immigrant poverty and rural isolation ensured that these new media were relatively slow to penetrate many Ukrainian settlements, while cultural and linguistic barriers further insulated a substantial segment of the community from the corrosive effects of consumer-oriented mainstream entertainment.<sup>8</sup> As a result, while amateurism was steadily waning among the Anglo-Canadian working class with the emergence of a mass culture in the 1920s, it seems to have survived much longer among ethnic minorities for the sim-

ple reason that they were not yet fully integrated into Canadian society.

The high rate of illiteracy within the Ukrainian community was yet another important factor in the success of immigrant theatre during the 1920s and 1930s, because it meant that a significant portion of the audience consisted of people who were entirely dependent upon oral means of communication. Indeed, the stage was arguably the most effective means of disseminating literary culture in general, through adaptations of prose works like *Taras Bulba*, presentations of old-country classics by master dramatists, and the staging of translations from a variety of languages into Ukrainian. Whereas literature published in books and periodicals reached only that part of the reading public which had better than rudimentary literacy skills, theatrical performances were accessible to virtually everyone, not just the educated or intellectually curious. Although a thorough study of genres performed and a ranking of the popularity of works and authors remains to be done, the repertoire ranged from low brow to high brow, and from farces and sketches to five-act tragedies and operettas. The immigrant stage might best be perceived, perhaps, in terms of the fare on contemporary television—an array of “shows” for public edification and entertainment, some poorly written and badly performed, others quite sophisticated and ambitious in presentation. Furthermore, illiterate and semi-literate enthusiasts of the interwar Ukrainian amateur stage were able to participate in the theatre as actors since they could easily be told the lines that needed to be committed to memory, especially if only playing minor roles.<sup>9</sup>

Besides serving as important vehicles of socialization and propaganda, amateur dramatic ensembles often generated much-needed revenue for their organizational patrons. This fact undoubtedly stimulated theatrical output by providing a strong cash incentive for groups to give frequent performances. Indeed, money collected in admissions not only underwrote the costs associated with production, but sometimes also contributed substantially to the construction and maintenance of local halls. And since a successful theatre company promoted and enhanced the prestige of its backers, a good amateur group could further be useful in mounting recruiting drives and fund-raising campaigns by projecting a tangible, positive image in a community.<sup>10</sup> In short, a flourishing ensemble was an expression of an organization's health, its wealth, and its credibility.

Leaving aside for a future discussion all aesthetic considerations (such as the quality of individual plays and overall repertoire, performance standards, production values, and the contemporary critical response), it is hard not to be impressed by the sheer volume of Ukrainian amateur theatre in Canada from the mid teens through the

early 1940s. The scale of mobilization of community energy and resources in itself was an extraordinary accomplishment, given the often difficult circumstances in which amateur theatre took root and had to operate, particularly during the Depression. The enormous commitment of time and money represented in the number of play productions in Ukrainian settlements large and small, from Nova Scotia to British Columbia, cannot be fully appreciated without taking into account all the rehearsals, costume-sewing, and set-painting that had to be undertaken before a play finally made it to the stage. To provide at least a sense of the Ukrainian theatrical phenomenon as it evolved between the wars, the following discussion will focus on the major centres of community life in two provinces, Alberta and Ontario, and on developments in two large urban areas, Winnipeg and Toronto.

### *Alberta: The Vegreville Bloc*

Although the first performance of a Ukrainian play in Canada is usually credited to Winnipeg in 1904, evidence suggests that theatrical activity was inaugurated some three years earlier in the Beaver Creek (later Vegreville) colony northeast of Edmonton. Organizational life had begun in the district by January 1897, when a thirty-one-member St Nicholas church brotherhood was formed and raised seventeen dollars in donations from Christmas carolling. In the spring of the following year a visiting Greek Catholic priest, the Reverend Paul Tymkiewicz, brought approximately eighty publications from the Prosvita Press in Lviv, which became the catalyst for the first reading society among Ukrainian immigrants in Canada.<sup>11</sup> Whether this library contained any plays is unknown, but it is certainly possible since reading societies often sponsored drama groups as an integral part of their enlightenment programs.

Sometime after May 1900 the newly arrived pioneer activist, Peter Svarich, established a second cultural association in the Beaver Creek settlement, naming it the Taras Shevchenko Reading Society after Ukraine's most famous poet. This *chytalnia* apparently also acquired a small number of publications from the old country, Svarich's own collection of books probably providing the nucleus for its modest library. The associated drama group that Svarich reputedly formed as well, though his memoirs make no mention of it, is said to have put on the first Ukrainian-language *predstavlennia*, or theatrical presentation, ever mounted on Canadian soil. As the reading society ceased functioning when Svarich left for British Columbia in the summer of 1901, the origins of Ukrainian Canadian theatre can specifically be traced to his year-long sojourn in the vicinity of Star, Alberta.<sup>12</sup>



By 1907 the first Ukrainian play had been staged in Edmonton itself, although theatrical undertakings became more common in the city only after the founding of the Boian Choral-Dramatic Society in 1912. Between 1912 and 1918 this society presented 85 plays, the income from these performances and six concerts contributing \$5,149.39 to the coffers of the Markian Shashkevych Prosvita.<sup>13</sup> In the meantime, amateur theatre groups had become active in the rural communities of Vegreville (1910) and Mundare (1911), and in the following years are known to have existed in other settlements both within and outside the growing bloc: Myrnam (1912); Lanuke (1913); Chipman (1914); Hardieville (1915); Bellevue (1916); Primula and Zawale (1917); and Lethbridge, Cardiff, and Warwick (1918). Documented performances also took place in Coleman, Leduc, Kingman, Kopernick (Holden), Round Hill, Skaro, and Waugh (1914); Angle Lake and Innisfree (1916); Limestone Lake (1917); Fedorah (1918); and Moscow (1919).<sup>14</sup> Thus, the immigrant stage had set down extensive roots in Alberta before the end of the First World War.

However, the popularity of Ukrainian amateur theatre in the province noticeably surged over the next two decades, the mushrooming of drama groups closely paralleling the construction boom in new community halls. Figures on the number of dramatic performances given in rural east-central Alberta between 1920 and 1939 provide a good indication of the dynamism of Ukrainian-language theatre at this time, as well as pointing to its geographical range and the scope of popular involvement.

In Vegreville, where Ukrainian plays were put on sporadically throughout the teen years, an especially energetic group of amateurs was affiliated with the Taras Shevchenko Educational Society (est. 1914). In their first twenty years of cultural endeavour they mounted close to 60 stageworks plus 40 concerts of a seasonal or commemorative nature.<sup>15</sup> North of Vegreville at the Pruth hall, erected in 1921 by the Yurii Fedkovych Educational Society of Soda Lake, 43 plays were presented in the organization's first decade of existence. Nine of these presentations took place in 1922 alone, when the Pruth ensemble also performed in three nearby settlements.<sup>16</sup> Meanwhile, a string of theatrical productions had been mounted in 1920 by the newly established Taras Shevchenko Educational Society of Smoky Lake, and play performances were also recorded at other points in the bloc, namely Fedorah (4), Leszniw (2), and Musidora (1). In 1921 students from the Michael Hrushevsky Institute in Edmonton took a play on tour to Innisfree, Vegreville, Borschiw, Mundare, and Lamont on a five-day tour over the Christmas break; and other dramas are known to have been staged in Lanuke (2), Myrnam (1), and Slawa (2).<sup>17</sup> By this time, an amateur group was operating out of the Michael Hrushevsky Hall in Egremont, where, at the official opening of



the centre on 20 July 1921 local players had presented a drama, while a similar troupe from nearby Fedorah staged a concert as part of the festivities. The Egremont group is known to have mounted five plays in 1923, and six stageworks and three concerts in 1926, when the dramatic society also visited sister clubs in neighbouring Fedorah, Redwater, and Eldorena. Inter-club drama exchanges involving these four communities apparently continued over the next decade, reaching a peak in 1934. The Hrushevsky drama group was dissolved two years later, but its successor, a branch of the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association, produced three plays in 1938 and seems to have still been mounting productions in 1940. Clearly, the Egremont community showed remarkable consistency in maintaining a theatrical program over a period of twenty years.<sup>18</sup>

More detailed figures are available for halls belonging to the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA) from the second half of the 1920s, when the pro-communist faction within the Ukrainian community enjoyed a certain prestige and short-lived popularity. The table below documents the theatrical vitality of ULFTA branches in Alberta's Ukrainian bloc settlement for four years when annual reports were collected and published.

**THEATRICAL ACTIVITY IN ULFTA HALLS,  
VEGREVILLE BLOC, 1926-30**

Place	1926	1928	1929	1930
Bellis		3	4	
Hillock-Ranfurly	7	3		
Lake Eliza	5			
Lanuke	3	4		6
Mundare	6	12	10	22
Nestow	1			
New Kiew				2
North Kotzman			2	4
Pakan		10	8	6
Slawa				12
Spedden	5	4	4	9
Vegreville	10	13	11	10
Waugh	4			
Willingdon				8
TOTALS	41	49	39	79

A second left-wing source records a series of simultaneous performances on 21 April 1930 at Innisfree, Myrnam, Two Hills, and Smoky Lake, in what probably was part of a recruiting drive or coordinated agitational campaign. All of the plays performed had political themes, and three were written by the communist activist, Myroslav Irchan: *Tovarystvo Pshyk* (The Pshyk society), *Dvanadtsiat* (Twelve), and *Buntar* (The rebel). For the year 1930 alone, then, the total documented output of ULFTA-affiliated halls and dramatic societies in the 15,000 square kilometres of the bloc settlement was no fewer than 83 plays.<sup>19</sup> As the ULFTA statistics reflect only the *reported* productivity of a single organization in rural east-central Alberta—where Greek Catholic, Orthodox, and nationalist groups were sponsoring competing ensembles—it can be safely assumed that the overall number of performances and communities involved was substantially higher. Indeed, one gets the distinct impression that on occasion the Alberta countryside was a veritable hive of theatrical activity.

There are suggestions, however, that around the beginning of the 1930s the rural theatre scene started to decline in terms of local commitment (evident in fewer performances) and the overall quality of productions (partly reflected in a growing preference for comedy and other lighter fare). The Depression, in particular, is said to have undermined the enthusiasm and financial base for the Ukrainian Canadian stage, although improved communications and changing tastes among the younger generation are also alleged to have contributed to the weakening of public support for the performing arts. Whereas in 1925 the Yurii Fedkovych Educational Society of Soda Lake had prohibited dances unless they were preceded by a play—the customary practice in many small towns and villages—nine years later it was deemed necessary to impose strong measures to curb excessive drinking at the increasingly rowdy social functions at Pruth hall. As one commentator subsequently explained: “Sports events and dances were gradually replacing the more serious activities like plays and concerts. Improved travel brought mixed crowds to the dances with the resultant problem of drinking. To cope with this specific problem, the 1934 meeting resolved to lay fines from \$5.00 to \$25.00.”<sup>20</sup>

Statements like the above concerning the demise of Ukrainian theatre have not yet been substantiated by any broadly-based statistical data, so it is difficult to say exactly when the popularity of the amateur stage reached its peak in the Vegreville bloc, or why it began to wane. Furthermore, there are indications of revived activity in some districts well into the 1930s and early war years—often attributable to the dedication of a single individual such as a culturally minded priest, local drama enthusi-

ast, or idealistic Ukrainian schoolteacher. The latter frequently furnished the spark and leadership to revitalize theatrical endeavours, devoting extra-curricular time to directing students in plays mounted for the benefit and enjoyment of the community at large. Until concrete evidence proves otherwise, it is perhaps not too much to suggest that the Depression may even have been a boon to cultural life in the countryside, since many young people appear to have opted for the relative security of the farm over unemployment in the city and thus provided the youthful energy necessary to maintain viable ensembles in small and isolated hamlets. It would also seem that during the 1930s the Ukrainian Canadian stage in Alberta underwent a change in focus and purpose. No longer primarily a spontaneous manifestation of immigrant identity, fulfilling a basic need for enlightenment and entertainment, it increasingly came to be employed as a vehicle for inculcating Ukrainian values in youth and for reinforcing the use of the Ukrainian language. As a result it acquired a somewhat forced and artificial quality.

Although similarly detailed information has not been compiled for the major Ukrainian bloc settlements in interwar rural Saskatchewan and Manitoba, amateur theatre was likely just as robust in these neighbouring provinces. In Alberta itself, outside the Vegreville bloc, there was an extremely vital Ukrainian stage in Edmonton throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Theatre companies from the capital not only toured the large agricultural colony to the north and east, but sometimes visited smaller Ukrainian pockets (such as the Leduc-Thorsby district) to the south and west as well. Drama groups also existed in areas of Ukrainian concentration around Athabasca and Lac la Biche, and in the Peace River country, though little is known about their activities. Nor were the scattered centres of Ukrainian community life in southern Alberta, particularly the province's mining towns, less culturally dynamic: Calgary, Lethbridge, Drumheller, Medicine Hat, Coalhurst, Wayne, Coleman, and Hillcrest all registered theatrical activity at this time. Lethbridge appears to have had an especially spirited ULFTA drama circle which became active in 1923 and reached a high point in terms of productions between 1930 and 1938.<sup>21</sup> Calgary and Drumheller possessed the next most energetic communist theatre groups, while towns in the Crowsnest Pass were noticeably more sporadic in their efforts.

### *Ontario: The Industrial Heartland and Frontier Resource Towns*

Participation in amateur theatre was equally remarkable in Ukrainian enclaves outside the prairie provinces, as the phenomenon existed wher-

ever Ukrainian Canadians migrated or clustered in sufficient numbers to sustain an organized presence. In Lachine, Quebec, for instance, one Prosvita society alone is said to have staged 156 plays between 1924 and 1934, when other groups were also operating out of various halls in the Greater Montreal area.<sup>22</sup> The finger-blackened playscripts found in the libraries of "national homes" throughout the industrial heartland of Canada bear eloquent testimony to the thespian devotion of working-class Ukrainian performers. In this regard, a 1930 *Oshawa Daily Times* article by playwright and journalist, Michael Petrowsky, is most interesting—both for what it says about the theatrical passion of Oshawa's Ukrainian citizens and for the unfavourable comparison made with public support for English-language theatre in the city:

Approaching the sanctuary of the temporary seat of drama, the Rotary Hall, I had expected to see the crowds of people lining up the sidewalks, to the outstanding event in this rather uneventful life of our city. It appears that the majority of us prefer the talkies portraying cheap backstage and cabaret life, with heaps of hoof kicking and contortionist dancing, to the clean entertainment one derives from plays produced by the Little Theatre.

#### A Comparison

Just for the sake of the argument, may I be allowed to mention a fact that the little colony of local Ukrainians in this respect occupies an enviable position. They produce around one hundred and fifty plays and about twenty concerts each season at four different halls that are crowded each Saturday night—and they attend movies, too! It is difficult to understand this apathy to legitimate stage when one considers the English speaking theatre!<sup>23</sup>

It is possible that Petrowsky slightly exaggerated the strength of the Ukrainian-language stage in Oshawa, and his disparaging remarks about the cinema may be attributable to the rejection of his numerous story proposals submitted to Hollywood film companies around this time. All the same, there can be no doubt that amateur theatre remained extremely vigorous in ethnic subcultures long after it had faded in the Canadian mainstream.

A newspaper article by another Ukrainian Canadian playwright and community activist, Dmytro Hunkewich, listed the dramatic productions mounted by the Hamilton Prosvita society in the fall and early winter of 1935. It provides a good indication of the tremendous energy expended by what was obviously a highly motivated drama group in a predominantly blue-collar city. The season began on 29 September with a production of *Ternovyi vinok* (A wreath of thorns), followed by a new play almost every week through the end of December: 8 October, *Martyn*

*Borulia* (Martin Borulia); 13 October, *Potsilunok Iudy* (The kiss of Judas); 20 October, *Dai sertse voliu, zavedy v nevoliu* (Give your heart freedom, and lead it into bondage); 27 October, *Poshylys v durni* (They made fools of themselves); 3 November, *Zhydivka vykhrestka* (The converted Jewess); 17 November, *Stari hrihovorodnyky* (The old sinners); 1 December, *Beztalanna* (The unfortunate woman); 8 December, *Sto tysiach* (One hundred thousand); 15 December, *Zakolot* (Confusion); 22 December, *Lykho z zhinkoiu* (Woman trouble); 25 December, *Sotnykivna* (The captain's wife); and 29 December, *Liga Natsii* (The League of Nations).<sup>24</sup> The fact that this bill embraced everything from comedies and tragedies to one-act plays and operettas testifies not only to the eclectic tastes of audiences, but also to the flexibility, resourcefulness, and commitment of the volunteer technicians and performers. Considering that other Ukrainian drama groups were putting on plays in Hamilton at the same time, theatre-goers enjoyed a wide array of dramatic entertainments from which to choose.

Windsor, Brantford, Kitchener, and St Catharines, all of which had significant Ukrainian populations, also spawned drama groups during the interwar years. But even smaller Ukrainian communities in southern Ontario towns and cities—Thorold, Welland, Port Colborne, Galt, London, Preston, Rosemont, Woodstock, Waterford—showed signs of theatrical initiative. As on the prairies, companies sometimes toured their productions to adjacent settlements on successive weekends, thereby obtaining extra “mileage” from the considerable time and effort put into their creative endeavours.

In northern Ontario Ukrainian theatre had set down strong roots during the pioneer era in the Lakehead area (1911) and the Sudbury basin (1915), as well as in the cities of Ottawa (1913), Fort Frances (1916), and Sault Ste Marie (1917).<sup>25</sup> In Kenora (where Ukrainian plays were being presented by 1916) the Taras Shevchenko Reading and Enlightenment Society staged 277 dramas between 1924 and 1959—most of them in the years from 1931 to 1943, when the group is said to have been at the height of its vitality.<sup>26</sup> However, Fort William and Port Arthur (today Thunder Bay), together with Sudbury and its immediate environs, maintained the most consistently lively theatre scenes in northern Ontario, the size and relative stability of their Ukrainian populations giving them obvious advantages over newer boom-town communities. Nevertheless, here too, the fortunes of Ukrainian theatre fluctuated. In the Sudbury region plays had been presented at Carson Mines, Copper Cliff, Coniston, Monde Mine, Worthington Mine, and Creighton Mine before the war, but amateur theatre increasingly focused on Sudbury itself after Ukrainian halls closed in the outlying mining settlements in subsequent



decades (Coniston being a notable exception). Beardmore, Dryden, Espanola, Fitzroy Harbour, Geraldton, Kapuskasing, Levack, Sioux Lookout, and South Porcupine were other northern Ontario towns to stage plays at various times between 1923 and 1940. There were similar manifestations of theatrical life near the end of the 1930s in Noranda-Rouyn and Val D'Or in northern Quebec. Clearly the Ukrainian performing arts managed to establish themselves successfully, and in some cases thrive, in the "stony soil" of the Canadian Shield. Some initiatives in these smaller settlements were extremely short-lived; others appear to have been characterized by bursts of activity separated by long intervals of dormancy.

The experience of Kirkland Lake illustrates how local conditions often determined patterns of theatrical development, with the establishment, growth, and decline of drama groups essentially paralleling economic and demographic changes. The town's Ukrainian population increased from four to three hundred between 1921 and 1931, then reached its 1941 peak of 656 after accelerated production in area mines drew an influx of labourers during the Depression years.<sup>27</sup> It is therefore not surprising that the first recorded Ukrainian play in Kirkland Lake was staged in 1930, or that the output of drama groups in the town reached its high point later the same decade. While pro-communist performers seem to have managed a maximum of only four dramas in their best years (1934, 1939, and 1940), players with the local branch of the Ukrainian National Federation (UNF) presented 38 different plays when they were at their pinnacle of creativity in 1935. The UNF productions ranged from Canadian-written works such as John Bodrug's 1909 *Ubiinyky* (The murderers) and Jacob Maydanyk's 1911 farce, *Manigrula* (the title being a corruption of "immigrant"), to perennial old-country favourites like the 1836 classic, *Svatannia na Honcharivtsi* (Matchmaking at Honcharivka), by Hryhorii Kvitka-Osnovianenko. The fact that almost a quarter of the plays put on in Kirkland Lake in 1935 were written by Ukrainian Canadian playwrights is especially significant, for it not only reflects the theatre's traditional need to be relevant, but also shows strong community support for indigenous talent.<sup>28</sup> In 1936 the same UNF ensemble mounted 36 different dramas, although the following year the number fell to 19 because the UNF hall was booked for other functions on most available weekends.<sup>29</sup> While the income generated by these stage presentations was modest, the benefits were not measured in material terms alone. The official history of the Kirkland Lake branch of the UNF noted that "the financial returns were small (for example, from a concert in honour of Ivan Franko there was a clear profit of \$13.55), but their importance rested in the fact that they drew the public to cultural pursuits, instead

of them drinking their money away in taverns, and earned a good name and respect for the branch of the UNF."<sup>30</sup>

In the still more northerly mining town of Timmins, Ukrainian theatre groups were likewise busy putting on plays during the interwar years. Although the roots of organized cultural life extended back to 1913 (the year that a branch of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party was formed), and the first documented play performance occurred in July 1918, the amateur stage was probably most consistently productive between 1922 and 1940. ULFTA-sponsored ensembles averaged at least three to four productions annually from 1929 to 1933, and presented a total of seven plays in 1939 when they appear to have been most prolific. Dramas continued to be mounted at the labour temple throughout the 1940s and 1950s, but more sporadically, with the last known performance taking place at the late date of 1965. Considerably less successful was another Timmins drama group founded in 1932 by a smaller local Prosvita society which subsequently affiliated with the UNF. It is said to have put on two plays in 1936, but thereafter the membership does not appear to have been large enough to maintain a theatre program. However, between 1926 and 1939 occasional theatrical performances were recorded for nearby South Porcupine, and they likely attracted part of their audiences from the Timmins nationalist community.<sup>31</sup>

### *The City: Winnipeg and Toronto*

In major metropolitan areas like Winnipeg and Toronto, Ukrainian amateur theatre was even livelier and more ambitious in scope than in the rural prairie blocs or isolated resource towns. Urban troupes enjoyed greater resources and a larger pool of people on which to draw both for creative talent and for audiences. Consequently, they were able to mount grander and more sophisticated productions, like operettas, that required complicated sets, huge wardrobes, and an extensive support apparatus.

In Winnipeg, where the first Ukrainian play was performed in 1904, theatrical activity had steadily increased from 1909 onwards.<sup>32</sup> Among the bigger groups operating in the Manitoba capital by 1918 were four companies jointly responsible for the lion's share of the theatre performances in the pioneer era. The largest and most dynamic ensemble was the Ukrainian Dramatic Society "Boian" (est. 1911); its extensive repertoire included operas and operettas. Lacking a strong choir, the Maria Zankovetska Enlightenment-Dramatic Society (est. 1911) concentrated on dramas, comedies, and historical plays. The Ivan Kotliarevsky Dramatic-Choral Society (est. 1911) specialized in ethnographic works and the Ukrainian classics, while the V. Vynnychenko Dramatic Society (est. 1912) had a socialist orientation. Plays were also regularly put on by the

Singing-Dramatic Circle of the Prosvita Reading Association (est. 1910), and by the Taras Shevchenko Reading Club (est. c. 1914), in the working-class suburb of Brooklands, whose 90 members staged an impressive 97 plays between 1914 and 1920. Other ensembles included the Singing-Dramatic Group "Bandurist" (est. 1916), operating from the Catholic parish of Ss Volodymyr and Olga, and players who were affiliated with the St Nicholas Benevolent Association (est. 1905).<sup>33</sup> These performing troupes were joined in early 1919 by the Ukrainian Workers' Theatre based at the newly opened labour temple at the corner of Pritchard and MacGregor streets in the heart of Winnipeg's cosmopolitan North End. As student and youth group productions were also being presented on an occasional basis, Winnipeg was obviously a theatre hot-bed by the end of the Great War.

Indeed, for a few years performance space was extremely hard to come by in the city, especially after the 800-seat Grand Opera Theatre was destroyed by fire following a Boian production of the operetta, *Chornomortsi* (Black Sea Cossacks). The building had regularly been used by several nationalistic Ukrainian drama groups, and its loss in February 1918 briefly compelled them to utilize the 1000-seat ULFTA hall. Thus in a single month, from 4 December 1919 to 3 January 1920, nine different ensembles staged a total of 11 separate productions at the labour temple.<sup>34</sup> This cooperative arrangement soon posed political difficulties, however, which ultimately proved to be insurmountable when the increasingly pro-Bolshevik ULFTA insisted on reviewing and approving the content of any newly written plays.<sup>35</sup> Consequently, in 1921 the Prosvita society renovated the lower part of its building at Pritchard and Arlington, creating an auditorium with a spacious stage and over 1000 seats. This enabled the Zankovetska, Boian, and Kotliarevsky dramatic societies to leave the labour temple for a more accommodating facility, though these rival groups still had to vie for space on alternating weekends. The three ensembles sometimes pooled their resources for large-scale commemorative events held under the auspices of the Ukrainian National Home, but all jealously maintained their independence and stored properties, wardrobes, and libraries at separate locations.

By 1922 the impracticality of having three large dramatic groups associated with one parent body became increasingly apparent. After prodding from National Home leaders, lengthy discussions, and some resistance, the trio finally joined forces to form the Singing-Dramatic Section of the Ukrainian National Home. At the time of union they had a total active membership of over 300, with as many as 200 additional supporters participating in productions on a less regular basis.<sup>36</sup> Once

the material resources of the National Home troupes were combined, the resulting library, wardrobe, prop, and set collection became the largest in North America. It made possible the establishment of a rental service used by theatres as far afield as Edmonton and Toronto. The collective talent pool simultaneously grew in size and depth, resulting in more elaborate and demanding productions than had previously been attempted. Not surprisingly, the National Home Drama Section dominated the Winnipeg Ukrainian theatre scene throughout the 1920s and 1930s, although financial constraints imposed by the Depression and the insidious effects of assimilation slowly eroded its strength and the popularity of theatre in general (particularly among Ukrainian youth).

Meanwhile, the Vynnychenko circle and the Workers' Theatre had merged in 1920 to form the Drama-Choral Circle of the Ukrainian labour temple, providing another important focus for creative endeavour in Canada's largest urban Ukrainian community. An indication of the intensity of the left-wing theatrical program during the early 1920s can be gleaned from incomplete statistics published in connection with the fifth anniversary of the Winnipeg labour temple. At least 215 plays had been presented since its official opening in 1919—137 by the ULFTA's own performers and 78 by outside groups. When one considers that an estimated 750 persons attended each performance, a staggering total of more than 161,000 tickets had been sold for live theatrical presentations in the temple's first half-decade of existence. Since there were also 69 concerts during the same time span, most of which drew capacity crowds, the combined attendance figure for cultural events—at the ULFTA auditorium alone—was in the neighbourhood of 230,000!<sup>37</sup>

It should be further noted that the Winnipeg labour temple was the flagship operation in an extensive network of affiliated halls that stretched from Cape Breton to Vancouver Island. As such, it was the well-spring of theatrical literature and ideas for companies large and small in every Ukrainian community with a socialist organization. Plays first staged in Winnipeg would sometimes be mounted in a string of settlements in the months following their premieres, giving a certain consistency to the repertoire available to left-wing Ukrainians wherever they lived. In 1924 a Workers' Theatre Studio was established by the Winnipeg labour temple to provide better training for aspiring actors, directors, and theatre technicians in communist circles. The escalating competition among rival Ukrainian organizations therefore not only stimulated the frequency of performances in the mid 1920s, but also spurred the conscious improvement of overall production values. The new concern for quality was reflected in the growing number of newspaper articles about the need to refine the amateur stage, and in the



issuance by Ukrainian organizations of stagecraft manuals for use by their dramatic sections.

Not surprisingly, people began to be employed full- or part-time on the preparation of plays for the stage, with many organizations hiring artistic or musical directors to coordinate their performing arts activities. This in turn led to a number of efforts to establish semi-professional theatrical ensembles, among them Winnipeg's Prosvita Rusalka Theatre (1928) and the UNF Travelling Stock Theatre (1934). Both enterprises were under the direction of playwright Philip Ostapchuk, who moved to Edmonton in December 1935 to launch a similar venture there.<sup>38</sup> By this time the theatre scene in the Manitoba capital was starting to lose much of its vigour, eventually being eclipsed by Toronto as the leading centre of the Ukrainian stage in Canada.

The swelling tide of job-seeking Ukrainians from the prairies into central Canada under the impact of the Depression was undoubtedly the chief factor behind this development, but especially important was the fact that the migrants included several key theatre activists from Winnipeg. When playwrights Michael Petrowsky moved to Oshawa, Dmytro Hunkewich to Hamilton, and Semen Kowbel to Toronto, the newcomers soon made their presence felt in their respective communities. Hunkewich later settled permanently in Toronto, where Philip Ostapchuk also ended up after his year in Edmonton, making southern Ontario the new focus of Ukrainian Canadian theatre in the second half of the 1930s. As on the prairies, however, the foundations had been laid by the pioneer immigration.

It is believed that the first play performed in Toronto was Ivan Karpenko-Kary's *Rozumnyi i duren* (The wise man and the fool), staged in 1913 when organized Ukrainian life was still in its infancy.<sup>39</sup> At approximately the same time a drama group was established on the initiative of St Josaphat's Ukrainian Catholic church on Franklin Street, and reportedly presented 14 plays during its first two years of existence. By 1920 several theatre companies were functioning in the city. Three of these united in 1921 with the formation of an ULFTA branch, and other pro-communist ensembles followed as new ULFTA chapters were established in subsequent years. An intense rivalry developed not only among these left-wing groups, but between them and the various nationalist companies that also came into being.<sup>40</sup> By the late 1930s Toronto had as many as eight Ukrainian dramatic societies vying for public favour.

By far the most important were the players sponsored by the Ukrainian National Home, a group that originated with a drama circle launched in 1916-17 by the Taras Shevchenko Enlightenment and Reading Society. In its first season the Shevchenko circle presented eight plays and



held 19 dances, and by its tenth anniversary in 1926 had a total of 57 theatrical productions to its credit. That same year the reading society transformed itself into a branch of the Ukrainian National Home Association, which in 1928 purchased a building with a 475-seat auditorium at 191 Lippincott Avenue.<sup>41</sup> The Lippincott National Home became the busiest theatre venue in Toronto, in some seasons producing as many as 48 plays, or almost one every weekend of the year. As performances were staged on Saturday as well as Sunday (sometimes three shows in two days), and frequently to capacity crowds, the impact of the hall on the cultural life of Toronto's Ukrainians was considerable. By 1952 Ukrainian National Home drama groups had presented 513 productions, including 66 operettas and one opera, the latter mounted in collaboration with the association's excellent choir.<sup>42</sup> Many of these stageworks involved huge casts and complicated set changes, the sheer spectacle of such endeavours even attracting attention from the mainstream media. Thanks to a sympathetic Ukrainophile editor, W.S. Snider, the *Toronto Telegram* was especially generous in its reporting of some of these events, occasionally devoting long articles with large photographs to pre-production accounts or reviews.<sup>43</sup>

## *The Playwrights*

The preceding discussion tells only part of the story of the Ukrainian-language stage in interwar Canada, ignoring as it does developments in British Columbia, Saskatchewan, rural Manitoba, Quebec, and Cape Breton Island. It should nevertheless be obvious that the phenomenon was widespread, had a mass character, and showed tremendous vigour and tenacity—particularly in well-established settlements with sizeable Ukrainian populations. Given this passion for native theatre, it is hardly surprising that a number of indigenous playwrights emerged, six of whom stand out for the quality, volume, and range of their dramatic works. They are Dmytro Hunkewich (1893-1953), Myroslav Irchan (the pen-name of Andrii Babiuk, 1897-1937), Semen Kowbel (1877-1966), Alexander Luhowy (the pseudonym of Oleksander Ovrutskyi-Schvabe, 1904-62), Michael Petrowsky (1897-1982), and P. Pylypenko (the pen-name of Philip Ostapchuk, 1898-1967). Together these men accounted for 107 plays, a significant percentage of which entered the repertoire of the immigrant stage.

The most prolific of the group was Semen Kowbel, who emigrated to Canada in 1909 from Borshchiv in Galicia. A builder and carpenter by trade, with only three years of formal schooling, Kowbel wrote 25 stageworks, all but one in North America, over a quarter century. The exception, a Schweik-like comedy completed during Kowbel's service in

the Austro-Hungarian army, has unfortunately not survived. His first work to reach the stage was a politicized adaptation of traditional Easter *hahilky* performed in Winnipeg in 1919 by the Boian ensemble; the extant typescript says the short piece was written "under the impact of the declaration of the Ukrainian Republic in 1918." Several of Kowbel's dramas dealt with the revolution and its tragic outcome in Ukraine, one of the most interesting being a satire depicting the visit of a delegation of North American Ukrainian communists to a Soviet collective farm in the 1930s.<sup>44</sup> His most successful play was probably *Divochi mrii* (Girlish dreams), which entered the repertoire of the Tobilevych touring ensemble in Western Ukraine.<sup>45</sup> To date, 13 Canadian productions of the play have been verified, from Cappon in Alberta (1925) to Kirkland Lake in Ontario (1935). Kowbel's last known theatre pieces appear to have been written in the early 1940s. Eight of his plays were published; others are known to have been produced from the manuscripts found among his personal papers after his death.

Born in Lysovychi, Galicia, Dmytro Hunkewich also came to Canada in 1909. His creative activity started with a topical five-act drama (depicting the life of Galician Ukrainians under Poland in the twentieth century) which premiered in Winnipeg in December 1920. It was soon followed by a tragedy (about the consequences of bigamy among Ukrainian immigrants in Canada) that debuted on 12 February 1921 and went on to have at least nine Canadian performances.<sup>46</sup> Altogether Hunkewich wrote 18 plays, most of them in a burst of creativity between 1924 and 1931, and four of them aimed at children: 13 were issued as separate publications, two appeared in periodicals, and three no longer exist. Among Hunkewich's more successful works was a 1925 comedy about women and American life, produced no fewer than 15 times in the United States and Canada, and published in both Canadian and Ukrainian editions.<sup>47</sup> Another "hit," a workers' political tragedy, boasted 19 Canadian productions in addition to being staged in the United States and Western Ukraine; its last documented performance occurred in Edmonton on 20 March 1966.<sup>48</sup>

The only communist dramatist among the six was the multi-talented professional agitator, Myroslav Irchan. A native of Piadyky, Galicia, he made his literary debut as a member of the Sich Sharpshooters in 1914 but became more serious about his writing after joining the Red Army as a political lecturer in 1920. Interestingly, his first contributions to the immigrant stage preceded him to the New World, since two of his early plays were performed on several occasions before his arrival in Winnipeg in 1923.<sup>49</sup> Ten of Irchan's 22 dramas were authored during his five and one-half years in Manitoba, where he also produced two translations and

two adaptations for the stage, a wealth of short and long prose, journalistic sketches, and various works in other genres.

By far Irchan's best known piece was his somewhat melodramatic political tragedy, *Rodyna shchitkariiv* (Family of brushmakers), completed shortly after he emigrated from Europe.<sup>50</sup> The play saw at least 74 Canadian productions between 1924 and 1959—the overwhelming majority in the first nine years following its Winnipeg debut—and was staged in every major Ukrainian Canadian urban centre as well as smaller places like Coniston, Ontario, and Kamsack, Saskatchewan. Next in popularity were *Dvanadtsiat* with 54 Canadian productions, *Pidzemna Halychyna* (Underground Galicia) with 24, *Bezrobitni* (The unemployed) with 17, *Buntar* with 12, and *Tovarystvo Pshyk* with seven. If presentations of Irchan's translations and adaptations are added, his theatrical credits run to 265 documented productions in Canada alone; some of the same works were simultaneously mounted widely in Ukraine and the United States.

In addition to writing, directing, and acting in plays, Irchan authored a 96-page manual of stagecraft, which for many years served as the technical handbook for ULFTA drama groups.<sup>51</sup> Concerned about the often slapdash quality of much immigrant theatre, he also wrote articles urging amateur performers to improve their efforts, and helped organize workshops to hone the skills of directors and backstage personnel. In short, Irchan was an extremely dynamic and important figure in Ukrainian Canadian theatre, and his stature was recognized well beyond the confines of the ethnic community. A fascinating article on Irchan, calling him the "playwright and prophet of a proletarian revolution," appeared in *Saturday Night* in 1929. "He is, one may contend," the piece concluded,

the most popular and influential author in the country. Is there another writer in Canada whose appearance on the platform would be greeted with resounding, long-continued applause—whose every new play is eagerly witnessed, who can see his audience spellbound, women weeping, men grinding their teeth, and then elevated with joy when the story takes a welcome turn? Comrade Irchan has a restricted public, but he commands its allegiance.<sup>52</sup>

Benefiting from a well-organized and extensive network of ULFTA branches across the country, Irchan was probably the most frequently produced Ukrainian dramatist in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Regrettably, he decided to emigrate to Soviet Ukraine in 1929 to participate in building a new revolutionary society and seek his future as a serious writer in the mainstream of Ukrainian literature. Arrested and deported in the Stalinist purges as an "enemy of the people," Irchan died somewhere in the Gulag in 1937, sharing the unhappy fate of many other Ukrainian communist intellectuals. Although posthumously rehabilitated

in the Krushchev thaw, his departure from the Canadian scene and subsequent fall from favour dealt a severe blow to left-wing Ukrainian drama in Canada; Ukrainian Canadian communists stopped producing his plays until his official rehabilitation.

The opposite end of the political spectrum was most ably and energetically represented by two other interwar immigrants. P. Pylypenko came to Canada in 1928 from the city of Vinnytsia in the Podilia region, and directed and acted in semi-professional ensembles in Winnipeg and Edmonton before moving to Toronto in 1938. The author of at least 15 works for the stage, Pylypenko is also said to have written a full-length history of the Ukrainian theatre in Canada that seems to have been lost from the Winnipeg offices of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress. His first published play appeared in 1931,<sup>53</sup> his last sometime in the 1940s. Alexander Luhowy further bolstered nationalist immigrant theatre. A Ukrainized German born in the northern Volhynian town of Ovruch, he had as a youth witnessed the brutal murder of two family members by the Bolsheviks. Fleeing to Galicia and then to western Europe, he became a permanent resident of Canada in 1929 and soon gravitated to the fledgling UNF. Besides several commissioned books for the UNF, Luhowy's creative output included 14 known plays, 11 of which were published between 1932 and 1938. Another three titles were announced as forthcoming but never seem to have made it into print. Understandably, Luhowy's chief dramatic concern was the defeat of the nationalist cause during the Ukrainian revolution—a theme which he explored extensively in six political tragedies.<sup>54</sup> Just as Irchan's plays were an integral part of the ULFTA repertoire, so were Luhowy's stageworks almost exclusively performed as part of the cultural programs of UNF halls in various parts of Canada.

Michael Petrowsky, the last playwright, emigrated to Canada with his parents in 1910 as a thirteen-year-old. The author of 11 plays, numerous short stories, and a novel about immigrant life, he also enjoys the distinction of having translated into English one of the most frequently presented Ukrainian plays on the New World stage—Mykhailo Starytsky's classic, *Oi ne khodu Hrytsiu, na tii vechornytsi* (Oh, don't go to that party, Hryts). Petrowsky's first published stagework, *Kanadyiskyi zhenykh* (The Canadian bridegroom), appeared in 1922 and dealt comically with the common problems of bigamy and forced marriages among newcomers. Most of his dramas, however, never made it into print, even if they managed to get produced on stage.

## Conclusion

The successes, failures, and frustrations of the above playwrights form an important part of the rich history of Ukrainian Canadian drama. Yet their achievements, like the story of the stage itself, are little known



outside a steadily dwindling community of people who actually participated in the "golden age" of Ukrainian immigrant theatre. Much research remains to be done before this experience can be fully appreciated, either as a separate Ukrainian Canadian phenomenon or as a distinct but significant ethnic component of Canada's theatrical heritage.

## Notes

1. It should also be noted that roughly 75 per cent of Ukrainian halls built in Alberta before 1940 were located in the large Ukrainian bloc settlement northeast of Edmonton; see "Appendix A" in Andrii Makuch, "The Kiew Hall: A Structural History" (unpublished research report, Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village, Alberta Historic Sites Service, 1983), 189-90. My own figures are based on a supplemented and revised version of the data in this Appendix.
2. Advertisements for theatrical literature and supplies can be found in period newspapers, calendars, bookstore catalogues, and some of the playscripts published in North America.
3. RG7 G14, vol. 96, file 103, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa.
4. *Ibid.*, 6.
5. *Ibid.*, 1.
6. *Ibid.*, 1, 2.
7. No detailed study of cinema among and by Ukrainian Canadians exists. Relevant information on Alberta can be found in *Memories of Mundare: A History of Mundare and District* (Mundare 1980), 48; and *Our Legacy: History of Smoky Lake and Area* (Smoky Lake 1983), 235, 238-9. The Petrowsky article cited in Note 23 makes some noteworthy comments about Ukrainians and the cinema; see also the contribution by Bohdan Y. Nebesio in this collection.
8. For an interesting analysis of the spread of mass culture in Canada and its concomitant undermining of working-class creativity see Bryan D. Palmer, *Working Class Experience: The Rise and Reconstitution of Canadian Labour* (Toronto and Vancouver 1983), 191-5. On the early dissemination of radio and film outlets in Canada see Robert Bothwell et al., *Canada, 1900-1945* (Toronto 1987), 283-90.
9. Illiteracy rates among Ukrainians in Canada in the period 1912-23 are discussed in Orest Martynowych, "Village Radicals and Peasant Immigrants: The Social Roots of Factionalism among Ukrainian Immigrants in Canada, 1896-1918" (M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1978), 70, 113; see also Oleh Wolowyna, "Trends in the Socio-economic Status of Ukrainians in Canada, 1921-1971," in W.R. Petryshyn, ed., *Changing Realities: Social Trends among Ukrainian Canadians* (Edmonton 1980), 55-9. While such statistics are somewhat confusing as they do not clearly distinguish between literacy in Ukrainian and English, there is no doubt that a large segment of the immigrant Ukrainian community was unable to read or write in any



language as late as 1940.

10. For information on the economic contribution of the theatre to various Ukrainian Canadian organizations see the following: Makuch, "Kiew Hall," 81; Sonia Maryn, "The Kiew Hall: Narrative History" (unpublished research report, Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village, Alberta Historic Sites Service, 1984), 81; Editorial Committee, *Ukrainians in Alberta* (Edmonton 1975), 152 (Chipman), 166-7 (Pruth); and Zynovyi Knysh, ed., *Na shliakhu do natsionalnoi iednosti: Piatdesiat rokiv pratsi Ukrainskoho natsionalnogo obiednannia Kanady, 1932-1982* (Toronto 1982), 255 (Kirkland Lake).
11. *Svoboda*, 25 February 1897, 4 August 1898.
12. See William Czumer, *Recollections about the Life of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada* (Edmonton 1981), 82; "Svidok velykykh zmin i postupu," *Ukrainskyi pioner* 3, no. 6 (August 1958): 13; and Petro Zvarych, *Spomyny, 1877-1904* (Np nd), 134. Svarich also directed (in 1910) the first Ukrainian-language play staged in the town of Vegreville.
13. See Czumer, *Recollections*, 82; and Michael Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History* (Winnipeg and Ottawa 1970), 169.
14. These dates are based on various sources, including photographs of Ukrainian drama groups in the Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary, and in local histories. I am also indebted to Orest Martynowych for sharing his unpublished list (albeit incomplete) of play performances compiled while researching his book, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924* (Edmonton 1991).
15. Petro Zvarych, "Uryvky zi spomyniv P. Zvarycha z Vegrevyl, Alta.," in Semen Kovbel, comp., *Propamiatna knyha Ukrainskoho narodnogo domu u Vinnipeg* (Winnipeg 1949), 653; see also the article by Stella Svarich in *Vegreville in Review*, vol. 1 (Vegreville 1980). It should be remembered that two other Ukrainian halls were active in Vegreville in the 1920s and 1930s as well.
16. Editorial Committee, *Ukrainians in Alberta*, 166.
17. Most of these numbers are derived from the Martynowych notes on play productions; see also the Smoky Lake entry in Editorial Committee, *Ukrainians in Alberta*, 171.
18. On the Egremont hall and its activities see *Building and Working Together: A Study of the Thorhild Area*, vol. 1 (Thorhild 1985), 247-51.
19. These figures are largely derived from Maryn, "Kiew Hall," 60, whose data comes from the detailed accounts of branch activities in the published reports of ULFTA congresses between 1925 and 1930. Some of the Vegreville plays are identified in Petro Kravchuk, *Nasha stsena: Khudozhnia samodiialnist ukrainskykh poselentsiv u Kanadi* (Toronto 1981), 439-51. The fact that Krawchuk cites only 19 performances by the Vegreville ULFTA for 1926-30 is an indication of the incompleteness of his data, which is most likely based on newspaper advertisements and articles; however, the same source provides some supplementary information for 1930, which I have integrated into my discussion.
20. See Editorial Committee, *Ukrainians in Alberta*, 167-8.

21. The Lethbridge ULFTA players realized the following annual production figures for the years 1930 through 1938: 6, 4, 10, 5, 5, 5, 7, 3 and 3.
22. See Zolotyj iuvilei Tovarystva "Prosvita" im. Tarasa Shevchenka v Montreali (Montreal 1963), 164, cited in Andriy B. Pereklita, "Ukrainian Amateur Theatre in Canada from 1900 to 1939" (unpublished paper, nd).
23. *Oshawa Daily Times*, 10 February 1930.
24. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 15 January 1936; the same association also sponsored concerts on 24 November and 22 December 1935. It is noteworthy that Krawchuk's chronology of communist theatre does not list a single play as having been performed in Hamilton in 1935.
25. All dates in parentheses in this paragraph represent the earliest documented performances, not necessarily the earliest productions.
26. Olha Voitsenko, *Ukraina kenorska: Iuvileina knyha chytalni Tovarystva "Prosvita" im. T. Shevchenka za pershe 50-richchia, 1915-1965* (Kenora 1965), 37, cited in Alexandra Pritz, "Ukrainian Cultural Traditions in Canada: Theatre, Choral Music and Dance, 1891-1967" (M.A. thesis, University of Ottawa, 1977), 67.
27. Roma Shewciw, "Ukrainians in Northeastern Ontario" (Honours B.A. essay, Laurentian University, 1972), 20.
28. Knysh, *Na shliakhu do natsionalnoi iednosty*, 252. UNF members also held concerts and annual events like St Nicholas Day celebrations as part of their cultural calendar.
29. *Ibid.*, 255, 257; the Kirkland Lake UNF branch enjoyed its greatest success between 1937 and 1939 when it boasted "62 men, 40 women as members, 30 pupils in Ukrainian elementary school, 40 choir members, and 32 musicians in the brass band" (938).
30. *Ibid.*, 255.
31. *Ibid.*, 694, 944.
32. See "De i iak rozvyvalasia stsenichna pratsia liubyteliv mystetsva u Vinnipeg?" in Kovbel, *Propamiatna knyha*, 141-3.
33. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, 270-1; for a discussion of Ukrainian theatre in the pioneer era see *ibid.*, 291-7.
34. These are listed in Peter Krawchuk, *Our Stage: The Amateur Performing Arts of the Ukrainian Settlers in Canada* (Toronto 1984), 31.
35. See Kovbel, *Propamiatna knyha*, 142-3.
36. "Zluka dramatychno-spivatskykh tovarystv z Ukrainskym narodnym domom u Vinnipeg 1922 r." in *ibid.*, 161-5.
37. See *Ukrainski robitnychi visty*, 23 February 1924; also Krawchuk, *Our Stage*, 57.
38. V. Revutsky, "Theatre, Dance, Cinema," in Volodymyr Kubijovyč, ed., *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia*, vol. 2 (Toronto 1971), 1185; and Pritz, "Ukrainian Cultural Traditions in Canada," 59-61.
39. Anna Balan, "Ukrainian Amateur Theatre in Toronto" (unpublished paper, nd), 11-12; her information came from a participant in the play, Mykhailo Guzda.
40. Pritz, "Ukrainian Cultural Traditions in Canada," 65-7.

41. Kovbel, *Propamiatna knyha*, 699-705.
42. D. Nykolak, comp., *Korotkyi istorychnyi narys Ukrainskoho narodnoho domu v Toronto* (Winnipeg 1953), 8, 13, 18-20.
43. On National Home productions see, for example, *Toronto Telegram*, 13 and 16 November 1936, 4 January 1937, 17 April 1937, 8 October 1937, 6 and 13 April 1940. In Winnipeg, too, the vitality of Ukrainian amateur theatre did not escape mainstream notice; see *Winnipeg Free Press*, 28 November 1936.
44. Ivan Karas [Semen Kovbel], *Deliegatsiia do raiu: Stsenichna kartyna na odnu diiu z diisnoho zhyttia robitnykiv na Radianshchyni* (Np 1938).
45. Semen Kovbel, *Divochi mrii: Tragi-komediia v 6-okh vidminakh, zi spivamy i tantsiamy* (Winnipeg [1920]).
46. Dmytro Hunkevych, *V halytskii nevoli: Drama v 5 diiakh, zi spivamy i tantsiamy. Predstavliaie zhytie halytskykh ukrainsiv pid hnetom Polshchi v XX stolitiu* (Winnipeg 1921); and *Zhertvy temnoty: Drama na 5 dii, zi spivamy i tantsiamy. Z zhyttia ukrainskykh pereselentsiv v Kanadi* (Lviv and Winnipeg 1923).
47. Dmytro Hunkevych, *Kliub sufrazhystok: Komediia v 5-ty diiakh z amerykanskooho zhyttia* (Lviv and Winnipeg 1925).
48. Dmytro Hunkevych, *Krovai perly: Robitnycha drama v 5 dii* (Lviv, Detroit and Fort William 1926-7).
49. Myroslav Irchan, *Dvanadtsiat: Drama v 5-okh diiakh z zhyttia povstanchoi vatahy v Skhidni Halychyni v misiatsi zhovtni-lystopadi 1922 roku* (Winnipeg 1923); and *Buntar (syn revoliutsii): Drama v 3-okh diiakh z zhyttia halytskoho proletariatu* (New York, Lviv and Kiev 1922).
50. Myroslav Irchan, *Rodyna shchitkariv: Drama na 4 dii* (Winnipeg 1924). A second, corrected edition was published in Canada in 1925, after which the play was frequently reprinted and anthologized in Soviet Ukraine.
51. Myroslav Irchan, *Stsena: Pidruchnyk dlia robitnycho-farmerskykh dramatychnykh hurtkiv* (Winnipeg 1928).
52. Charles Roslin, "Canada's Bolshevik Drama—Miroslav Irchan, Playwright and Prophet of a Proletarian Revolution," *Saturday Night* (9 February 1929), reproduced in John Kolasky, ed. and trans., *Prophets and Proletarians: Documents on the History of the Rise and Decline of Ukrainian Communism in Canada* (Edmonton 1990), 77.
53. P. Pylypenko, *V pazurakh Cheka abo krivava kvitka bolshevytskoho raiu: Drama na 5 dii* (Winnipeg 1931).
54. See Jars Balan, "A Losing Cause: Refighting the Revolution on the Ukrainian-Canadian Stage," in Andrew Donskov et al., eds., *Slavic Drama: The Question of Innovation* (Ottawa 1991), 226-34.

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## ***Zaporozhets za Dunaiem* (1938): The Production of the First Ukrainian-Language Feature Film in Canada\***

*Bohdan Y. Nebesio*

Many cultural projects undertaken by Ukrainians in Canada—organizing a choir, building a church, commemorating an important anniversary with a public concert—resembled those of the old country and drew on expertise brought from the homeland. They also had the same ultimate objective: the preservation of Ukrainian cultural identity against the influences of officially supported and more powerful cultures (Polish and Russian in Ukrainians' native land, Anglo-Canadian in their newly adopted country) that were unsympathetic, indifferent, or hostile to Ukrainian aspirations. Without government and other institutional support cultural survival in both milieux devolved entirely to the Ukrainian community, and depended, in the final analysis, on the enthusiasm and sense of national duty of its various components. In these circumstances the commercial viability of Ukrainian cultural projects was understandably of secondary importance, with the financial burden, as a rule, to be borne as part of the individual and group sacrifice demanded for the Ukrainian nation. But how would Ukrainians in Canada, as an emigrant/immigrant ethnic group, approach a cultural project that was totally without precedent and had no equivalent in their people's collective memory? Would they exclusively employ the methods of North America, where they now found themselves, or would they build on their heritage and adapt old ways of thinking and acting to the new setting?

Ukrainian Canadians faced precisely this dilemma when between the wars they sought to transform a traditional classic of the Ukrainian

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\* The research for this paper has been funded in part by the Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko.



theatre, the operetta *Zaporozhets za Dunaïem* (Cossacks in exile), into a motion picture. A native cinematographic tradition was either too young or non-existent when the immigrants had left Ukraine for them to turn to it for direction and inspiration. Most were at best familiar only with foreign silent cinema, whether German, French, or American. Soviet Ukrainian films appeared rarely in North America and those few that were available were in any case ignored by a majority of Ukrainians on ideological grounds. Nevertheless, technological advances in sound cinema<sup>1</sup> provided an opportunity to produce a truly Ukrainian picture in which the Ukrainian language and songs, so cherished for centuries, could be heard from the screen. The choice of an operetta where dialogue and songs played a major role would not only take full advantage of the latest technology but also boost the national pride of Ukrainian Canadians.

The operetta *Zaporozhets za Dunaïem* was written by Semen Hulak-Artemovsky in 1863. Considered one of the best dramatic works of the time, it told the story of a Cossack family forced to relocate to Turkey after the abolition of the Zaporozhian Sich by Catherine the Great. The plot featured a love intrigue, domestic quarrels, and clashes between Ukrainian and Muslim cultures. Its subject matter, coupled with an excellent musical score and humorous scenes, quickly made the operetta a favourite with the Ukrainian public.<sup>2</sup> Thanks to the popularity of its author as an opera singer, *Zaporozhets za Dunaïem* was also often included in the repertoire of Russian imperial theatres.

Released in 1938, the motion picture *Zaporozhets za Dunaïem* was the first Ukrainian-language feature film produced in Canada. It did not, however, pioneer Ukrainian film making in North America. *Natalka Poltavka*, another opera, had been produced in the United States in 1936, under the direction of Leo Bulgakov, by a company called Avramenko Film Production Incorporated. One of the more interesting facts about these artistic endeavours by Ukrainian émigrés overseas is that they prompted the Kiev Studio in the Ukrainian SSR to commission Ivan Kavaleridze, among the best Ukrainian directors of the day, to direct two rival films. Both Soviet productions, *Natalka Poltavka* (1936) and *Zaporozhets za Dunaïem* (1938), were assembled very quickly and released before their North American counterparts; they premiered in New York City's "Amkino," a theatre promoting Soviet films.<sup>3</sup>

The Canadian *Zaporozhets za Dunaïem*, for its part, became an exercise in applying the old country's production methods and criteria to the new country's art form. Instead of treating the film production as a business venture, delivering entertainment to the paying public, its sponsors perceived *Zaporozhets za Dunaïem* as an undertaking of great national

importance. The professionalism necessary for a successful film was replaced in the process by national sentiments and community politics, with the result that neither the more pragmatic goal of assembling a quality product able to compete with mainstream cinema, nor the loftier aim of satisfying the national aspirations of the Ukrainians involved in the project, was ever reached. What the venture's backers got was a movie destined for a North American Ukrainian viewing public too small in itself to pay for it. Nevertheless, the completion of *Zaporozhets za Dunaïem* remains a great achievement for Ukrainians in Canada. It also marks an unrecognized triumph of perseverance and vision by one controversial individual—Vasile Avramenko.

Vasile Avramenko was born on 22 March 1895 in the village of Stebliv, Kiev gubernia, in the Russian empire. As a young man he held various jobs, including stints in the mines of the Donbas and the shipyards of Vladivostok. In 1915, after completing a teacher's course in Vladivostok, he was drafted into the Russian army and enrolled in a military school in Irkutsk. Subsequently sent to Minsk after being wounded in battle, Avramenko began to take an active part in organized Ukrainian community life, particularly its artistic dimension. He followed this with professional stage training at the Lysenko Drama Institute in Kiev and performed as an actor with the touring theatre of Mykola Sadosky. Interned in Kalisz, Poland, in 1920 for his involvement with the army of the Ukrainian People's Republic, Avramenko organized his first dance school, which performed in several Polish cities. He later organized a number of dance schools in Galicia, most notably in Lviv, and often performed on stage himself. On moving to Podebrady, Czechoslovakia, to escape the Polish authorities, he opened another dance school.

In December 1925 Avramenko immigrated to Canada, where he would spend several years, but by 1930 he had made his home in New York City. On arrival in the Dominion he began to teach Ukrainian dance, and soon his Ukrainian National Ballet Schools (*Shkoly ukrainskoho natsionalnoho tanku*) had sprung up throughout central and western Canada in all major Ukrainian communities. With a promotional campaign initiated ahead of time, Avramenko would typically arrive in a town, rent a hall, give one or two performances by his students, and then hold intensive dance classes for local talent for two or three weeks. At that point his students would take over and run the school while Avramenko moved to another town to repeat the process. It is estimated that he himself taught over 30,000 students during the course of his career, each of whom received a diploma signed by him personally, and many graduates continued as dance instructors. Avramenko's schools all

bore his name and were operated as franchises. Of the many performances Avramenko and his students gave, several stand out. The most renowned were those presented at the Canadian National Exhibition in Toronto in 1929, at the Metropolitan Opera in New York City in 1931, at the Century of Progress Exhibition in Chicago in 1933, and on the White House lawn before First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt in 1935. The Metropolitan Opera performance, for example, featured the Koshetz Choir and over a thousand performers from the United States and Canada.

An enthusiast of mass culture, Avramenko quickly recognized the mass appeal of the movies. As such, he used his popularity in the Ukrainian community to lend his name to the company, Avramenko Film Production Incorporated, where he became the artistic director. Together Avramenko and the board of directors began work on a feature film, *Natalka Poltavka*, although disagreements between the two led to Avramenko's firing before the film premiered in 1937.<sup>4</sup> The company continued to use Avramenko's name until the production was completed; as the rechristened Ukrafilm Corporation it produced a second feature film, *Marusia*, which was released at the same time as *Zaporozhets za Dunaiem*.

Avramenko's decision to produce a Ukrainian-language film in Canada was not based on great knowledge of the country's film industry or on a desire to tap into its wealth of experience, for no feature films were being produced in the Dominion at that time. Between 1928 and 1938 Great Britain had tried to resist Hollywood domination by restricting the number of foreign films shown in British theatres. But as it simultaneously allowed films produced in the British Empire or Commonwealth to enter the country freely, American studios eager to gain access to the British market had established production branches in Canada. An end to the "quota" period in 1938, which had seen twenty-one feature films produced in Canada, also brought an end to American-backed Canadian productions for the British market. Most films distributed within Canada in the 1930s originated south of the border, while newsreels and short documentaries produced by the federal government's Motion Pictures Bureau constituted the domestic output. As film historian David Clandfield says, "the picture of Canadian film production between the wars is bleak. State productions lacked imagination and funding; the private sector was dominated by Hollywood and distorted by the British quota laws."<sup>5</sup> A truly Canadian film industry began only in 1939 with the establishment of the National Film Board of Canada.

Nor did the Ukrainian Canadian community have any previous experience with film production. Regardless of the presence or absence of talent and resources in its own ranks, the fact that no professional films

were being produced in Canada meant that the secondary technical support (such as film laboratories and sound studios) on which an amateur film culture depended also did not exist. Unlike Ukrainian Americans, for example, Ukrainians in Canada did not manage to make films documenting their stage productions and community events.<sup>6</sup> Experience with the movies was limited to viewing a few American Ukrainian films in addition to the mainstream Hollywood dream offerings.

Avramenko's return to Canada at the end of the summer of 1937 with an idea to make a film of *Zaporozhets za Dunaïem* was motivated by personal ambition rather than artistic or business considerations. Newly fired from Avramenko Film Production Incorporated (which he then unsuccessfully sued) when the company could not pay back its creditors after producing *Natalka Poltavka*, he well knew that Ukrainian Americans would not support a new venture and that his credibility for raising funds in the United States was questionable. Avramenko therefore decided to relocate north of the border where the popularity of his dance schools remained high and his name untarnished, choosing the city of Winnipeg with its strong Ukrainian community as his base. In September 1937, intending to finance his film through private donations and personal loans, he started to organize formal groups called Supporters' Committees of Avramenko Film Production (*Komitety prykhylnykiv ukrain-skoi filmovoi produktsii Vasylia Avramenka*) in Ukrainian communities in the prairie provinces, northern Ontario, Quebec, and British Columbia. Members were recruited from among ordinary farmers and workers as much as from community activists publicly identified with Ukrainian causes. By the end of the year at least twenty-seven committees had been established on the prairies alone.<sup>7</sup> Not all Ukrainians or Ukrainian organizations endorsed their work. Some individuals and groups expressed concern about the notion of raising one hundred thousand dollars as an unsecured private loan to Avramenko. The influential National Home (*Narodnyi dim*) in Winnipeg, for example, publicly denounced the scheme and warned others against it.<sup>8</sup> Soon thereafter the idea of private loans was abandoned in favour of a shareholder-controlled company. The Avramenko Film Company Limited was formed in Winnipeg on 9 December 1937 with the following individuals on its board of directors: Vasile Avramenko—president, Peter Ratuski—vice-president, Mykyta Mandryka—secretary treasurer, Ladislaus Biberovich—manager, and Sam Honcharyk—director. Ratuski and Honcharyk were merchants in Kenora, Ontario; both Biberovich, a journalist, and Mandryka, an insurance agent, came from Winnipeg, and the Avramenko Film Company's main office shared premises with Mandryka's insurance



agency on Main Street.<sup>9</sup>

Four thousand preference shares at a nominal value of \$25 per share and ten thousand common shares without a nominal value were issued for sale to interested parties. Only holders of common shares had the right to vote and decide on the company's affairs. Avramenko secured for himself eight thousand common shares as payment for the film script that he wrote and as repayment for loans to the company. Some of the common shares issued to Avramenko were used as bonuses for the buyers of interest-bearing preference shares. Mandryka and Biberovych received five hundred common shares each, the remaining two directors, Ratuski and Honcharyk, one hundred each. In this way, Avramenko secured for himself total financial control of the company.

With the exception of Avramenko, the board of directors had no previous film production experience and only limited business experience. Moreover, although Avramenko had already produced one film, he too lacked professional expertise and always had to rely on other people. Edgar G. Ulmer, who worked on both *Natalka Poltavka* and *Zaporozhets za Dunaiem*, later recollected how little Aramenko knew about film making, inadvertently revealed when he came on the set to see what the crew was shooting. Ignorant of the technical aspects of cinema, he was totally dissatisfied with the small picture in the camera's viewfinder. "He looked through the finder," Ulmer recalled, "saw the scene and went into a fit. He was hysterical—the Americans were cheating the poor Ukrainians. It took me about an hour to get it out of him that he didn't want this small picture, he wanted a picture which you could see on the screen."<sup>10</sup>

Nor was Avramenko's business sense the best, in that he tended to mix his personal artistic ambitions and populist ideas of educating the non-Ukrainian public about Ukrainians with financial responsibility. Typically Avramenko secured total control over a project. Convinced that no cost should be spared when it came to promoting Ukrainian culture, he often brought in hundreds of people and usually ran over budget if in fact there was a budget. After raising money to start a project, he would then continue to borrow more money while spending large sums on extravagant showing off. According to a Ukrainian American historian, Avramenko's powerful personality was crucial to obtaining a flow of funds. "Although many Ukrainians who loaned Avramenko money and goods were never repaid and often complained bitterly behind his back about how they were 'taken,'" he wrote, "many of the same Ukrainians melted in confrontations with Avramenko and more often than not ended in 'loaning' him even more."<sup>11</sup> Most of Avramenko's large projects prior to *Zaporozhets za Dunaiem* had resulted in financial losses and debts. Among his surviving correspondence are numerous letters from people



who trusted him and lent him money; they express the sense of betrayal and anger of simple folk who had often turned over their entire savings or even taken out private loans.<sup>12</sup> A letter to Avramenko from Kalenik Lissiuk, his friend and a fellow film producer, in January 1937 accurately pinpointed the broader reasons behind his poor business performance:

It is very difficult to achieve success, and even more so, to make money from patriotic feelings, especially ours. Those who think that they can make money from nationalism are the most erroneous. There has not been and there will not be such nationalism that would survive such an industry as a film industry. But if the film industry is grounded on the basis of business sense it will bring enormous profit.<sup>13</sup>

Needless to say, Avramenko ignored this advice and refused to treat his project as a business venture.

The fund-raising campaign for *Zaporozhets za Dunaïem* appealed unabashedly to national feelings and a sense of national duty. "No nationally conscious Ukrainian person in Canada," read the advertising leaflets, "should deny help in this great undertaking." Once again using his tested methods of identifying a favourite enterprise with patriotism, Avramenko tied the film to the campaign to build a "Ukrainian Hollywood." A pamphlet, *Help Build a Ukrainian Hollywood*, set the mood when it asked: "Did you not in many instances feel ashamed of your national identity because you were a member of an unknown, divided, and scoffed-at race?" Presuming that its readers answered the question with "yes," the pamphlet proceeded to offer a solution, encouraging them to invest in a Ukrainian film industry that "could and will be vested with life as something huge and representative of the Ukrainian people."<sup>14</sup> As a skilled orator, Avramenko used not just the printed word to get his message across but also relied heavily on large gatherings of people, whose support he always seemed able to win. A former dance student had this to say about her mentor: "He was fanatical in his belief that only Ukrainian art and dance were good and above all else. He called rally upon rally and would speak endlessly. Such was his appeal that people would sit for hours, hypnotized, enthralled, and fascinated. He would then ask for donations and always received ample funds to carry on his large scale performances in major halls."<sup>15</sup>

The Avramenko Film Company initially decided to concentrate on selling its shares, using hired travelling salesmen, but later adopted a wider range of fund-raising options to accept donations and private loans from individuals without a direct stake in the company as well. Exclusive rights for the film's distribution were also offered for sale. For example, the rights to exhibit *Zaporozhets za Dunaïem* in Manitoba were purchased collectively in January 1938 for \$6000 by the following people: Mykola

Pasiechko—farmer, Stefan Mudlo—carpenter, Stepan Syvak—carpenter, Vasyl Lozovsky—shoemaker, and Pavlo Tesliuk—worker.<sup>16</sup> These individuals are a fair representation of the film's supporters among Ukrainian Canadians, for very few professionals, intellectuals, or Ukrainian organizations supported the project. Avramenko's personality figures prominently in the explanation for such class differences in backing *Zaporozhets za Dunaiem*. By promoting "low" cultural genres such as folk dance and cinema Avramenko could not attract the intelligentsia, but in being identified with the workers and farmers, he could easily appeal to them. *Natalka Poltavka*, for example, was produced by a union of Ukrainian window washers in New York City. Moreover, Avramenko was able and prepared to bring popular culture to small and isolated communities; in so doing, he initiated a grassroots movement that got people to participate in the cultural process and made them feel important. Lastly, among less sophisticated workers and farmers his technique of manipulating people and playing on their national sentiments went unnoticed for longer periods of time.

Since the board of directors had minimal professional knowledge of film making, it depended on Avramenko's recommendations in the selection of personnel, and the choices reflected his imprint. Michael Gann, a graduate of Odessa University and gifted professional well respected in the film industry, was hired as associate director. He had previously collaborated with Avramenko on many occasions and operated his film production company in New York City. During the production of *Zaporozhets za Dunaiem*, Gann worked out of the Avramenko Film Company's New York office. Edgar G. Ulmer, whose credentials as a set designer and director included cooperation with Max Reinhardt and F.W. Murnau in Europe and William Wyler in Hollywood, was selected to direct the film. In the United States Ulmer would subsequently direct a number of foreign-language films—Ukrainian, German, Yiddish, and Italian—as well as "B" movies bearing such exploitive titles as *Girls in Chains* (1943) and *Babes in Baghdad* (1952). He often worked on low-budget productions and was considered by critics as a director with a personal vision, distinct from the mainstream.<sup>17</sup> Avramenko himself wrote the film script for *Zaporozhets za Dunaiem*, although his adaptation of Hulak-Artemovsky's well-known operetta would be modified several times during production in order to accommodate difficulties arising on the set.

While *Zaporozhets za Dunaiem*'s Ukrainian Canadian backers turned to non-Ukrainians in the United States for technical and artistic expertise, the film also became a promotional vehicle for two Western Ukrainians then touring North America. Singer Maria Sokil and composer Antin

Rudnytsky, both well known in the musical world with international reputations throughout Europe, were trying to raise money for a Ukrainian hospital in Lviv by giving recitals in Ukrainian communities overseas. At the beginning of March 1938 Avramenko signed contracts with the artists: Rudnytsky was to write the music for the film and conduct the orchestra during its recording sessions; Sokil was to play the older female lead of Odarka. Avramenko believed that the involvement of the two stars in his production would bring it prestige and entice audiences to see the final product. In reality, however, the couple's participation brought only unnecessary expenses. In addition to the high salaries that had to be covered, the shooting and post-production schedule had to be adjusted to accommodate the artists' personal calendars. Because each of them had other engagements in Europe during the summer, all scenes featuring Maria Sokil had to be shot first and Rudnytsky's music for the film had to be recorded prior to shooting.

Avramenko's insistence on changing schedules to suit his star artists had a negative impact on both the film's finances and its artistic quality. Substantial sums of extra money, for example, went to pay for rush laboratory jobs and for unnecessary changes of location during the shooting. Music for film is usually recorded to synchronize with the edited version of the visual material. But in the case of *Zaporozhets za Dunaïem*, Rudnytsky's dates of availability meant that editing was done to comply with a music score that could not be changed. Nor could scenes with Maria Sokil be retaken because the star had left the country (although Sokil had a beautiful voice, it should be pointed out that she was not a professional actress).

The casting for other roles, obviously done by Avramenko, encountered similar problems, as actors were chosen for their voices rather than for their acting skills. Michael Shvetz<sup>18</sup> as Karas was one of few to be complimented for his good performance as well as his voice. Other major roles were cast with singers living in the United States at the time. Helen Orlenko played Oksana, Alexis Tcherkassky played Andrii, and Nicholas Karlash played the Sultan; songs of the kobzar were sung by D. Creona. The role of the Cossack leader, *koshovyi* Kelnyshevsky, was given to a Toronto resident, General Vladimir Sikevitch, a veteran of the Ukrainian armed forces and a highly respected community leader, but no actor. Generally, major roles were cast with artists living in the United States or Europe; only minor players and extras came from Canada.

Many young Ukrainian Canadians from the prairies travelled to New Jersey, where the film was being shot, in order to play minor roles or to fill in as extras. Dancer Vasyl Yatsyna from Winnipeg, who performed a solo dance in the film, was one of the luckier ones; most of those who

journeyed thousands of kilometres, apparently at their own expense, were used as extras. As Edgar G. Ulmer recollected: "The parents drove these people to the set; from as far as British Columbia, they came to Jersey. They must have been ten and twelve days on the road. It was one of those things that I couldn't believe."<sup>19</sup> Paul Yavorsky, a travelling salesman and organizer for the Avramenko Film Company, noted in his diary that "I personally took part in mass scenes playing the parts of a Turk, a Cossack, a Russian and a dancer."<sup>20</sup> According to Yavorsky, most of the extras came from Canada. Utilizing extras this far from their homes does not make much sense, considering that the roles could have been filled, more cheaply and with less upheaval, by local people. It appears that the employment of the Canadians was a partial obligation to Avramenko's investors. Many farmers donated or lent money for the production on the condition that their children received parts. One supporter from Alberta wrote to Avramenko in late 1937 to explain: "In Edmonton I have met several people who set the following conditions: 'If Mr Avramenko agrees to take my girl to the film I am ready to support him financially. If only I could see my daughter in the movie.'"<sup>21</sup>

Artistic problems were not the only difficulties besetting the production. Shooting of the film took place in Newton, New Jersey, where a Cossack village was built. The place was chosen by Edgar G. Ulmer, the film's director, who was at the same time shooting a Yiddish film, *The Singing Blacksmith*, and the sets for the Cossack village were built next to those for the Jewish "shtetl." Ulmer experienced great difficulty finding a site in close proximity to power lines but unspoiled by a modern industrial landscape. Open hostility on the part of local residents towards "foreign" Ukrainian and Jewish projects added to the list of obstacles. The land on which the two sets were erected belonged to a German monastic order, the only group willing to accommodate such "non-American" activities, and the monks, because of their beards, even offered to play extras in the Jewish film.<sup>22</sup> *Zaporozhets za Dunaiem* received unsolicited publicity when the *New York Mirror* discovered that the monastery was flanked by a nudist colony on one side and the pro-Nazi Camp Nordland on the other. "There's Freedom in the Newton Hills—for Jewish and Ukrainian Actors, Monks, Nudists and Nazis" proclaimed a headline.<sup>23</sup>

Communication snags between the main office in Winnipeg, which had to approve and cover all expenditures, and the production office in New York City created delays and more unjustifiable expenses. During production Avramenko was constantly being sent on fund-raising missions to solve the cash-flow crisis. The shooting of the film also had



to be completed in two sessions three months apart. Because Maria Sokil had to return to Europe, all her scenes were shot in June. Music, arias, and choral songs depending on Rudnytsky were also recorded in June, at a New York studio. The remainder of the film was shot in September, when the crew and performers had to be gathered again. This time weather intervened: shooting was postponed many times and some scenes had to be shot under a tent. The final blow came when a storm destroyed some of the buildings on the set and they had to be rebuilt. Instead of the planned eight days, the second segment of the shooting lasted nearly a month. It was completed on 28 September 1938.

Billed as "the greatest Canadian picture," *Zaporozhets za Dunaïem* premiered at Winnipeg's Orpheum Theatre just over two months later on 3 December 1938. The bishop of the Greek Catholic church, Vasyl Ladyka, and the lieutenant-governor of Manitoba, W.J. Tupper, attended as honoured guests and were entertained, prior to the picture's showing, with 150 of Avramenko's dancers performing on stage. Avramenko himself did a solo dance, and, as Francis Stevens reported in the *Winnipeg Free Press*, "made a speech that raised the roof, a rousing patriotic Canadian speech."<sup>24</sup> That same month the film opened in all major Canadian centres, and on 27 January 1939 Ukrainians in New York City saw the picture for the first time. The film came with English subtitles and the English-language press received invitations to each premiere. Although far from enthusiastic, the reviews were generally positive. All reviewers agreed that the music and singing were the best features of the film, while other cinematographic elements made for a pleasant entertainment. "Once again the Ukrainian-Americans have turned out a film operetta that is highly agreeable both to the eye and the ear," wrote the *New York Times*, obviously unaware that the project was Canadian.<sup>25</sup> The audiences attending the screenings of *Zaporozhets za Dunaïem* were mostly Ukrainian; in Saskatoon, for example, 2,700 people saw the film in one day, but only about 150 of this number were non-Ukrainians.<sup>26</sup>

The distribution and exhibition of the picture proved to be as financially troubled as its production. In an attempt to recover money owing on unpaid bills, Mecca Film Laboratories in New York City threatened to auction the film in December 1938. The Avramenko Film Company managed to save the picture but made no money. For example, screenings in Montreal that brought in a gross income of \$1,500 realized only forty-one cents profit.<sup>27</sup> There were many reasons why *Zaporozhets za Dunaïem* failed to succeed financially. First of all, for the premieres the company rented the most expensive theatres available. It also arranged for expensive and elaborate stage performances and parades before the screenings, such as dancers in national costume welcoming guests to the theatre.<sup>28</sup>



Then, the long patriotic speeches by Avramenko (he spoke for an hour in Montreal) did nothing to attract crowds. Lastly, the film was over-advertised. A mailing campaign (five thousand postcards in Montreal and two thousand in Winnipeg) targeting the Ukrainian community never brought the expected results. Nor did the advertising directed at the non-Ukrainian public pay for itself; the few outsiders who attended the screenings did not come as a direct result of that costly campaign. The film's backers were not unaware of these problems. A worried Mykyta Mandryka raised all three concerns in a letter to his colleagues on the board of directors less than two months after *Zaporozhets za Dunaïem's* launch.<sup>29</sup>

At its annual meeting of shareholders in early 1939, the Avramenko Film Company reported total costs for the film of \$61,415.00, with debts in the amount of \$46,664.06.<sup>30</sup> In truth, the film probably cost closer to \$75,000 because some of the money raised privately by Avramenko, which went to cover the most urgent expenses, was not recorded by the Winnipeg office. The proposed price tag, when the project was first broached, had been an optimistic \$30,850 to \$37,200.<sup>31</sup> In 1939, prospects for a better financial future for the film were grim. The European market, for which Variety Film Distributors of New York had purchased the rights, collapsed with the outbreak of war in September. In North America, the war prompted some jurisdictions to prohibit foreign-language films. The Motion Picture Censorship and Theatre Inspection Branch of the Ontario Treasury Department, for example, had banned the showing of foreign-language films in the province as early as May 1939, and a communication to the Avramenko Film Company in early 1940 confirmed the ruling to be still in force.<sup>32</sup> The Ukrainian market in North America was too small to pay for the film alone, and the company's distribution scheme—poor, ineffective, and uncoordinated—did nothing to improve the situation. Some distributors travelled to remote Ukrainian communities only to learn that the film had recently been shown there by Avramenko himself.<sup>33</sup> His old American production company in New York, now Ukrafilm Corporation, was showing *Marusia* at the same time and competing for the same audience and the same dollars. Added to this was the fact that people had to pay two or three times more to see *Zaporozhets za Dunaïem* than they did to watch the latest Hollywood flick. The Avramenko Film Company, however, chose to blame the film's poor financial performance on "an unexpected ignorance of the Ukrainian community towards our Ukrainian (*ridnyi*) film."<sup>34</sup>

In 1939 Avramenko left Canada for Hollywood where he soon became involved in the production of an English-language current affairs documentary, *Tragedy of Carpatho-Ukraine*. In a letter to shareholders and

creditors of the Avramenko Film Company, probably written in 1941, Avramenko apologized for not fulfilling the company's financial obligations. He also presented a far from modest plan—including an English-language remake of *Zaporozhets za Dunaïem* and a series of low-budget films for quick profit—to recoup its losses. The plan remained unrealized.<sup>35</sup> After the Second World War, with the arrival of new Ukrainian immigrants, Avramenko's popularity waned. He continued to tour North America screening Ukrainian films, both his own and others acquired for this purpose, until leaving for South America in the late 1940s. In the 1960s and 1970s, now an elderly man but still undaunted, Avramenko visited Australia and Israel. In each new country he organized dance schools and screenings of his films. A reporter from the *Jerusalem Post* had this to say about the seventy-six-year-old: "In his half year in Israel, Mr. Avramenko has shown his films several times and recruited several students. It is difficult to find out just how many, since he speaks no Hebrew and his English is also poor. But he makes up for his lack of verbal ability with extremely gracious manners, coupled with a highly aggressive personality."<sup>36</sup> Until his last days Avramenko kept organizing dance schools and showing his films. During the Vietnam war he even offered to entertain American troops in Asia and to teach them Ukrainian dances, but his proposal was turned down by the State Department. Avramenko died in New York City on 6 March 1981, four years short of his ninetieth birthday.

Avramenko's interwar production of *Zaporozhets za Dunaïem* is an example of a venture pursued by a small group of people for the benefit of an ethnic community. It demonstrates that old-country methods and criteria were inadequate to ensure monetary rewards at the same time as they guaranteed completion of a project otherwise doomed to collapse. The choice of subject matter, with its culturally specific and nationalistic theme, precluded the film's wider appeal in mainstream society. The use of old-country methods—in organizing committees, raising funds, recruiting talent, and presenting to the public what was essentially an extravaganza variety show—was also ill suited to the North American environment and the medium of film. From the Hollywood perspective, *Zaporozhets za Dunaïem* was a mismanaged financial failure that suffered from artistic flaws. But from the perspective of the Ukrainian community, it was a success of unprecedented magnitude, showing the immigrants what they could accomplish in adapting their traditional cultural forms to the cultural forms of the new world.

## Notes

1. The first sound film, *The Jazz Singer*, was made in the United States in 1927; in Soviet Ukraine, where sound films appeared only after 1931, the "silents" dominated until the mid 1930s.
2. Oleksandr Kysil, *Ukrainskyi teatr* (Kiev 1968), 86.
3. See Ivan Korolevych, "Bolshevytska filmova produktsiia: Stalin z chekistamy proty Avramenka," *Vistnyk Ukrainskoi filmovoi studii Vasylia Avramenka* 2 (April 1938): 18-19.
4. Mykola P. Novak, *Na storozhi Ukrainy* (Los Angeles 1979), 137.
5. David Clandfield, *Canadian Film* (Toronto 1987), 14. For an extensive analysis of the development of Canadian cinema during this period see Peter Morris, *Embattled Shadows: A History of Canadian Cinema, 1895-1939* (Montreal and Kingston 1978).
6. A twelve-minute silent film variously entitled *Canadian Dances* and *Second Congress of SUMK* is preserved in the Vasile Avramenko Film Collection at the National Film, Television and Sound Archives in Ottawa; it carries no credits but one suspects that it was made by an amateur American cameraman. All other footage in the collection documents American events only.
7. *Vistnyk Ukrainskoi filmovoi studii Vasylia Avramenka* 1 (January 1938): 14-16.
8. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 17 November 1937, cited in Novak, *Na storozhi Ukrainy*, 151.
9. Avramenko Film Company Limited, *Prospectus* (Winnipeg 1937), in Vasile Avramenko Papers, vol. 18, file 7, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa.
10. Peter Bogdanovich, "Edgar G. Ulmer Interview," *Film Culture* 58-60 (1974): 211.
11. Myron B. Kuropas, *The Ukrainian Americans: Roots and Aspirations, 1884-1954* (Toronto 1991), 345.
12. See, for example, the letters demanding payment and naming names from Slavka Vesela, who, together with Avramenko, organized a Slavic festival in Chicago; Avramenko Papers, vol. 4, file 18.
13. This letter is dated 24 January 1936 but was more likely written on that date in 1937, when the production of *Natalka Poltavka* was completed; *ibid.*, vol. 8, file 29.
14. Basil A. Stephens, *Help Build a Ukrainian Hollywood*, reprinted in *Promin* (April 1936), quoted in Kuropas, *Ukrainian Americans*, 344-5.
15. Mary Ann Herman, "Vasyl Avramenko as I Knew Him," *Trident Quarterly* (Summer 1962): 36-7, quoted in Kuropas, *Ukrainian Americans*, 343.
16. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 16 March 1938.
17. Linda Obail, "Ulmer, Edgar G.," in Christopher Lion, ed., *International Dictionary of Films and Filmmakers: Directors/Filmmakers* 2 (Chicago 1984), 543-4.
18. The actors' names are spelled here as they appeared in the film credits. Copies of *Zaporozhets za Dunaiem* are preserved at the National Film, Television and Sound Archives in Ottawa and at the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre in Winnipeg.

19. Bogdanovich, "Edgar G. Ulmer Interview," 212.
20. Diary, 12 September 1938, Paul Yavorsky Papers, National Archives of Canada.
21. Letter, V. Doroshenko to Vasile Avramenko, 23 November 1937, Avramenko Papers, vol. 4, file 8.
22. Bogdanovich, "Edgar G. Ulmer Interview," 215-16.
23. Quoted in J. Hoberman, *Bridge of Light: Yiddish Film Between Two World Wars* (New York 1991), 267-8.
24. *Winnipeg Free Press*, 6 December 1938.
25. *New York Times*, 28 January 1939. For other reviews see *Toronto Daily Star*, 12 January 1939; and *Evening Telegram* (Toronto), 12 January 1939.
26. Diary, 7 December 1938, Yavorsky Papers.
27. Letter, Mykyta Mandryka to Ladislaus Biberovich and Vasile Avramenko, 20 January 1939, Avramenko Papers, vol. 7, file 14.
28. Diary, 22-4 December 1938, Yavorsky Papers.
29. Letter, Mykyta Mandryka to Board of Directors, 20 January 1939, Avramenko Papers, vol. 7, file 14.
30. Avramenko Film Company Limited, *Zvit z richnykh zboriv 31 bereznia 1939*, *ibid.*, vol. 18, file 8.
31. "Pryblyznyi koshtorys 'Zaporozhtsia,'" *ibid.*, vol. 11, file 31.
32. Letter, 12 February 1940, *ibid.*, vol. 4, file 16.
33. Letter, Kalenik Lissiuk to Vasile Avramenko, 24 December 1940, *ibid.*, vol. 8, file 29.
34. Avramenko Film Company, *Zvit z richnykh zboriv 31 bereznia 1939*.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Jerusalem Post*, 19 April 1971.

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# The Role of Ukrainian Sports Teams, Clubs, and Leagues, 1924-52

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In the introduction to their book, *Sports and Games in Canadian Life*, Nancy and Maxwell Howell argue that the role of organized recreation in Canada "has, strangely, lacked chroniclers....The history of sport is a neglected field. Historical works usually consider wars, government, religion, social change, trade, and so on."<sup>1</sup> In essence the Howells were only reiterating what British historian A. Lunn had observed some forty years earlier in his account of the history of skiing. "The historian," Lunn wrote, "is apt to forget that sport in some form or another is the main object of most lives, that most men work in order to play, and that games which bulk so largely in the life of individuals cannot be neglected in studying the life of a nation."<sup>2</sup> In 1985 the former Canadian Olympian athlete and now historian, Bruce Kidd, expanded on the Lunn and Howell thesis to suggest that historians should also look at the peculiar role of ethnic sports. "Ethnic sports studies," he insisted, were "necessary for a full understanding of the immigrant experience in Canada."<sup>3</sup>

There have been numerous popular and scholarly books, both professional and amateur, on sport in Canada. Some of these works attempted a comprehensive survey of a variety of activities within a specific time frame, others chose to concentrate on a single sport, and yet others focused entirely on an particular league or team or personality. Within this body of literature, the role that immigrants and ethnic communities have played in the development of sport in Canada has been documented only marginally, when acknowledged at all. Moreover, the limited discussion that exists is by and large confined to those individuals who actually participated in the events they describe. The sole major English-language works on ethnic sport in Canada that come to mind are Leible Hershfield's *The Jewish Athlete: A Nostalgic View* (1980), Gerald Redmond's *The Sporting Scots of Nineteenth-Century Canada* (1982), and a

collection of essays, *Sport Pioneers: A History of the Finnish-Canadian Amateur Sports Federation* (1986), edited by Jim Tester.

Among Ukrainian Canadians, awareness of their sports heritage and its contribution to the development of their ethnic community is remarkably limited. In fact, with two exceptions, the history of Ukrainian sports clubs, leagues, and teams has been almost completely overlooked. The exceptions are a Ukrainian-language history of the SA Ukraina in Toronto between 1948 and 1983 and an English-language account of Ukrainians in the National Hockey League.<sup>4</sup> The present paper proposes to address the general neglect, and in the process to expand understanding of the Ukrainian immigrant experience, by looking at the role of organized sport—its prewar genesis, interwar flowering, and postwar fortunes—as part of formal Ukrainian Canadian community structures.

The beginnings of organized Ukrainian sport in Canada pre-date their rapid growth in the interwar years. According to all available evidence, they go back to 1910 when Ukrainian students at the Ruthenian Training School for teachers in Brandon, Manitoba, formed a football club.<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, however, the subsequent fate of this group remains shrouded in mystery. The first documented participation by a Ukrainian sports club in a public exhibition occurred in 1914 in Winnipeg; on 14 September of that year school children attending *ridna shkola* at Ss Vladimir and Olga church put on a show of athletic exercises for a community audience. The troupe practised under the guidance of a European-trained sport enthusiast and teacher, Konstantyn Zalitch, and subsequently continued giving performances on a regular basis. That the inspiration for this group came from the old country and not the North American environment is apparent in the fact that both the members' routines and their smart matching uniforms were reminiscent of those of the sporting association, Sokil Batko, in contemporary Lviv.<sup>6</sup>

It is no coincidence that the earliest recorded evidence of organized Ukrainian Canadian sports life is tied to community schools or *ridni shkoly*. In fact, a similar development characterized mainstream Canada in the opening years of the twentieth century, as public schools and related institutions of learning became the cradle of popular sport throughout the country. Teachers in Canadian schools were often well versed in traditional British and North American sports, from rugby to baseball, and many firmly believed that sport was a crucial cornerstone of character building. As a result just about every school, big or small, operated a sports program of some sort.<sup>7</sup> But sport was not only encouraged by those in charge of state-run schools. It was also advocated by social reformers and overseers of public playgrounds who felt that organized recreation would solve a perceived urban crisis caused by

rural-urban migration and "foreign" (that is, non-British) immigration. In particular, current wisdom held that sport would help "Canadianize" the foreign child and imbue him or her with such "British" qualities "as self-discipline and moral will-power; devotion to fair play, justice, and equality; and, above all, the sense of loyalty and duty to one's side that, in a larger context, was the essence of patriotism."<sup>8</sup> But if Ukrainian immigrant youth were exposed to Canadian sport as part of the assimilation process, they were also exposed to sport as part of their Ukrainian heritage. Importing the sporting tradition of their homeland with their immigrant cultural baggage, members of the pioneer Ukrainian intelligentsia also believed that sport was beneficial to youth. As such, when they became teachers in Ukrainian schools, they readily inserted physical training or exercise into the curriculum.

In contrast to such positive attitudes towards athletics among elements of the pioneer intelligentsia, during these formative years most Ukrainian immigrant parents viewed sports if not as an unnecessary luxury at least as a wasteful activity. Understandably, economic security and stability were foremost on their minds. The scarcity of money made seemingly endless chores and wage-paying jobs essential for family survival. Distance, poor roads, and weather hindered rural travel in any case, so that either many Ukrainian youth were not allowed by their parents to pursue sports or circumstances simply conspired against their participation. In addition, what time, money, and resources the Ukrainian immigrant had he contributed to the building of churches and schools, and to the establishment of political, social, and cultural associations. Sport, whether as an individual or a collective endeavour, was far from the consciousness of ordinary Ukrainians faced with making a living and laying the foundations of a community. What their children did or learned in both state and vernacular schools, however, was a different matter. There sports existed as part of the curriculum and few parents had the courage to defy the teacher.

The average Ukrainian's relationship with sport underwent a transformation between the wars. As growing prosperity brought farmers and workers not only increased leisure time but also the material means to enjoy it, the first Canadian born and/or raised generation began to embrace the recreational interests of its fellow Canadians. Organized sport in general experienced an upsurge in popularity between the wars and Ukrainian Canadians eagerly participated in the all-Canadian phenomenon. But from the Ukrainian perspective, sport did much more than serve as a barometer of integration in that it became closely identified with community goals.

The first Ukrainian "sports" group to emerge outside the school

setting was formed in the early 1920s as an integral part of the framework of the Ukrainian Boy Scouts and Sporting "Sitch" Association of Canada, co-founded by Volodymyr Bossy (grandfather of 1970s-80s' hockey star, Michael Bossy), who spearheaded the monarchist "hetmanite" movement in Canada. Despite its name, Sitch was open to girls and adults as well as to boys; and although one of the organization's stated objectives was to "encourage and promote lawful amateur games and exercises,"<sup>9</sup> it acted more like a paramilitary outfit. Branches conducted regular drill training, competed in drills against other Canadian and American military and paramilitary units, and participated in various military-type manoeuvres.<sup>10</sup> At the time, such drills were regarded as a sport. The interwar "hetmanite" orientation which Sitch represented, supporting the claims of Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky to head an independent Ukraine, enjoyed considerable popularity among Ukrainian Canadians in the 1920s. The success of both the larger movement and its sporting expression can be attributed to two factors.

First, to a large extent Sitch emulated the popular Canadian paramilitary organizations of the era by advocating patriotic responsibility to Canada and the British Empire, and combining this sentiment with a strong monarchist philosophy. The Ukrainian group was affiliated with the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, and although obliged in 1925 to change its name to the Ukrainian Sporting "Sitch" Association of Canada to avoid confusion with that body, regularly received invitations to take part in various civic, military, and patriotic functions. Many Ukrainians believed that formal and official fraternizing with an organization of such status as the Canadian Boy Scouts would transform them into model citizens in the eyes of the British majority. Second, and more importantly, Sitch was a Ukrainian nationalistic organization whose ultimate goal was an independent Ukraine.<sup>11</sup> Thus on the one hand the fundamental purpose behind practising drills might be to train men and women for the defense of Canada and the British Empire; to instill respect for the flag, monarch, and country; and to sharpen the physical and mental skills of the participants. But on the other hand a paramilitary organization could also work to foster a highly desirable ethnic "nationalism," while the training it provided could be put to good use to "free" Ukraine.<sup>12</sup> Reinforcing the notion of the primacy of the dual patriotic and military thrust of the Sitch movement, in the 1920s and 1930s only a small number of Sitch branches across Canada participated in organized sports identified with popular North American culture by sponsoring softball teams.

Nevertheless, in the mid 1920s independent Ukrainian sport clubs that did tie into mainstream popular culture started to form across

Canada. Modelled on existing Canadian amateur athletic clubs and offering sports like baseball, softball, basketball, football, curling, and bowling, they can without doubt be characterized as "typically Canadian." Most of their organizers were in fact Canadian born, and moreover adopted an organizational approach that reflected the "British" sport influence instilled in them in the nation's public schools or on its playgrounds. At roughly the same time, certain established Ukrainian organizations without a sporting ideology like *Sitch* also began advocating the formation of sports clubs within their respective structures.

The establishment of "ethnic" sports clubs in Canada between the wars was certainly not a Ukrainian innovation. Nor was the phenomenon unique to that period. One sports historian has argued that Canada's peculiar social evolution is in part responsible for this emergence. "The ethnic rivalry which naturally exists in a multicultural society, in many fields, has been continuously reflected in Canadian sport," he wrote. "Since earlier times, when British and French competed in various athletic contests with Indians and Eskimos, as well as each other, sports has gradually developed to involve nearly all the ethnic groups in Canada within its competitive embrace."<sup>13</sup> The first chartered sports club in Canada was founded by Scottish immigrants in Montreal in the 1800s. Finnish immigrants formed their first sports club in 1906, and by 1934 could boast over forty such local groups.<sup>14</sup> The Winnipeg Falcons hockey team that won the 1920 world amateur championship represented an Icelandic club. Jewish, Polish, German, and other ethnic clubs also appeared at the turn of the century.

Several factors contributed to the interwar founding of independent Ukrainian clubs. For one thing, the organizers recognized that Ukrainian youth, products of North American socialization, were greatly interested in sport. They equally envisaged involvement in organized athletic activity to be an ideal way to prevent lesser or more serious forms of juvenile delinquency. Sport, then, benefited both the individual who took part and his or her larger society, and as such was readily accepted by participants and parents alike. Albert Slivinski, who organized the Lakehead Ukrainian Athletic Club in 1936, believed that physical fitness was a fundamental building block during a young person's formative years. Convinced that there were simply too many Ukrainian youngsters at loose ends with nothing to do, he proposed to gather them in a Ukrainian setting where they could receive proper sports training.<sup>15</sup> Michael Starr, at age sixteen one of the founders of the Ukrainian Athletic Club in Oshawa in 1927, launched the experiment as an alternative to the pool hall and to keep Ukrainian youth out of trouble.<sup>16</sup> Lastly, many Ukrainian leaders regarded sport as a vehicle through which Ukrainian



youth could participate as equals in the life of their town or city removed from the confines of the ethnic community. This was at a time when ethnicity, language, religion, and other barriers defined Ukrainians as outsiders, causing many young people to shy away from mainstream Canadian clubs and clubs formed by other ethnic groups, virtually the only venues for organized sport. Most preferred to band together among themselves and play games informally.

Those who did venture into the non-Ukrainian world of organized sport were often disappointed. Discrimination, indoctrination, and exclusion often characterized the mainstream Anglo-Canadian clubs, and membership in the clubs sponsored by other ethnic groups was much restricted. At the Lakehead, for example, talented athletes were sometimes turned away by established Canadian clubs because of their Ukrainian origins.<sup>17</sup> In North End Winnipeg, where most Ukrainians in that city lived, the United Church operated a fine sports program, but would-be participants had to agree to attend the church's Sunday Bible school. With no where else to go, many young Ukrainians accepted these conditions, submitting to religious proselytization in return for the opportunity to play games.<sup>18</sup>

Eventually, Ukrainian community activists came to the conclusion that non-Ukrainian clubs could not adequately meet the sporting needs of their young people. While the potential for prejudice and discrimination constituted one concern, the fear that Ukrainian youth in a non-Ukrainian sports environment would be inevitably alienated from the Ukrainian community was equally strong. Ukrainian sports clubs, as the proposed solution, would not only retain a large segment of youth within the Ukrainian community but also attract others who had never previously considered themselves part of it. In 1928 V.H. Koman, president of the Canadian Ukrainian Athletic Club (CUAC) of Winnipeg, revealed the ulterior motive behind this argument. "To ensure that our [Ukrainian] youth will want to be part of our organizations," he said, "we have to offer them that which attracts them. Our organizations must foster all aspects of sport."<sup>19</sup> In other words, sport was to act as bait to draw the uncommitted and the alienated into the Ukrainian community.

When the CUAC was founded in Winnipeg in fall 1925, presumably no one envisioned the mark it was destined to leave on Canadian sport. Over the years hundreds of young people competed at various levels on CUAC baseball, softball, hockey, soccer, basketball, lacrosse, and football teams in different Winnipeg leagues. Many of these teams won championships. Among them the senior girls' softball record is unmatched. The team took the Manitoba championship on twenty-two occasions, boasting a string of seventeen consecutive titles between 1957 and 1973;

in 1965 the girls won the inaugural national championship. The CUAC also offered house-league curling and five-pin bowling. Its grounds, covering two city blocks, contained a club house, a hockey rink, a soccer and football field, baseball diamonds, and basketball and tennis courts.

As with most Ukrainian clubs between the wars, the CUAC did not exclusively cater to nor restrict itself to Ukrainian youth: from its inception anyone could join or participate in club activities. The CUAC's fifteenth-anniversary yearbook acknowledged this broad outreach, explaining that the club's "chief object and purpose has been the fostering and furtherance of sport and athletics among the youth of Greater Winnipeg."<sup>20</sup> In its early years, though, the club in practice consisted primarily of Ukrainian youth. It was unproven, it laboured under an ethnic label, and it offered only boys' hardball, so that more status-conscious individuals and those seeking greater diversity preferred to associate with Winnipeg's more established athletic clubs. Once the CUAC "Blues" started winning championships, however, the club gained recognition outside the Ukrainian community and prospective stars of all backgrounds eagerly sought to play for its teams.

Besides the rise of independent Ukrainian sports clubs and a paramilitary group like Sitch, the mid 1920s also witnessed the legitimization of sport or athletics within the framework of community institutions whose main focus lay elsewhere. The pro-communist, pro-Soviet Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA) was the first major Ukrainian Canadian organization to advocate the formation of in-house sports groups for youth. The ULFTA leadership believed that such clubs would be an ideal vehicle for keeping youth within progressive ranks. And just as Sitch reached beyond the Ukrainian community in affiliating with the Canadian Boy Scouts, so the ULFTA sports movement established ties with mainstream groups. It was affiliated with the Workers' Sport Association of Canada (WSAC), a leftist organization that both promoted sport for its own sake and used sport for political gains. The *Young Worker*, which targeted socialist-oriented youth, argued "that just as the Y.M.C.A.'s can be used by the bosses for drawing youth away from the Labour movement, the Workers' Sports is a force drawing youth to the Labour movement."<sup>21</sup> In official circles, then, political priorities with the recruitment of new cadres for the class struggle would appear to have been the ultimate objective behind organized recreation for young people.

In 1931 youth within ULFTA ranks in Calgary formed a baseball club. One of the club's members subsequently wrote to *Young Worker* to say how the team had played several games against WSAC opposition in Drumheller and Edmonton and had succeeded in attracting a number of players. "But," he added, "the most important work carried on by our

team is the work in breaking up some fascist teams and winning the members for the WSA. We noticed some difference in the team of the Ukrainian fascist organization. We took advantage of this by calling them to a conference and asking them to unite with us in a Workers sports team. They agreed, despite the fact that their fathers are in the executive of the Ukrainian fascist organization."<sup>22</sup> Such statements suggest that sport in the interwar Ukrainian Canadian community became ammunition in the competition for the allegiance of the rising generation. In this particular instance, the identity of the "Ukrainian fascist organization" whose sporting youth the ULFTA baseball team raided is unknown, but was probably also based in Calgary.

By the mid 1930s the evidence points to decreasing militancy on the part of workers' sports clubs, and as ideology receded to the background sport came to be pursued simply for the sake of sport. Not all left-wing activists approved of this development, however, and some of the more radical criticized the new emphasis on sport in and of itself for distracting members from revolutionary work.<sup>23</sup> That sport in ULFTA circles continued to be influenced by the politics of the larger pro-communist, pro-Soviet movement in the Ukrainian Canadian community is demonstrated by the significant way in which its programs differed from those of other Ukrainian clubs. In addition to the "North American" game of baseball, the ULFTA encouraged participation in sports that enjoyed popularity and were being pushed in the contemporary Soviet Union. Gymnastics, distance running, and human pyramid building represented the mainstay of the ULFTA clubs.

On the opposite end of the political spectrum, in the late 1930s and 1940s the national executive of the nationalist Ukrainian National Youth Federation (UNYF) assumed an active role in encouraging local branches to form sports clubs. Many Ukrainian churches also organized softball and/or basketball teams and competed in church leagues. Even cultural establishments such as Prosvita formed sports clubs. In other words, by the outbreak of the Second World War, which temporarily refocused resources and energies on several fronts, sport had become an integral component of Ukrainian Canadian life, appreciated for its own sake as well as its alleged usefulness in the community's efforts to combat assimilation.

The effort that went into organizing sports clubs at this time was no less than the effort expended in organizing other facets of community life, and the response was often gratifying. The Lakehead Ukrainian Athletic Club, for example, attracted three hundred eager individuals before any teams were even announced.<sup>24</sup> In general, the Ukrainian Canadian community gave the clubs financial and moral backing, and in some cases

local businessmen sponsored teams, bought jerseys, and provided transportation. Fan support was also good with hundreds and sometimes thousands of enthusiasts attending an event. These fans came out for a variety of reasons.

First, for parents, there was the element of curiosity—what in the world were their children doing? Second, at a time when mass entertainment was still in its infancy—no television, movies an often expensive and essentially urban luxury, radio far from commonplace in every home—sporting events were considered an appropriate, fulfilling, and cheap way to spend an evening or a Saturday afternoon. The Ukrainians, of course, would go to watch “*nashi*” (ours) compete.<sup>25</sup> Lastly, many spectators genuinely became great fans of “*nashi*” teams. It was their moral duty to provide the team, in both the size of the crowd and the loudness of its cheers, with the encouragement necessary to win games. It was also their duty to defend the team, the name of the sponsoring organization, and by extension the entire Ukrainian Canadian community from dishonour. On more than one occasion Ukrainian fans proved their ardour by jousting with the opposition and its supporters. In winter 1939, under the heading “Riotous Scene is Witnessed,” the Fort William *Daily Times Journal* described one such outburst at a hockey match. “The puck had been barely faced,” it reported, “when Brown of the Maroons and Kalynuk of the Ukes tangled, precipitating one of the most riotous scenes to be seen in a lakehead arena this season. Spectators leaped over the boards and joined with players in the general melee. Lights were doused in an effort to subdue the rowdying.”<sup>26</sup>

Some clubs, to instill a sense of Ukrainian patriotism and to raise much needed funds, involved their members in cultural or political events—plays and musicals, poetry recitations, folk dancing, Christmas caroling—well supported by the Ukrainian public. As non-Ukrainians began to join the clubs, however, these activities ceased, a sign that outreach to the larger Canadian sporting community diluted the Ukrainian character of the Ukrainian sporting movement.

Across Canada in the 1930s inter-urban sports competitions grew in popularity as more and more people acquired access to the automobile and travel grew easier. This new trend did not bypass the Ukrainian sports clubs. In fact, it helped to weld local Ukrainians not only into a larger Ukrainian Canadian community, but also into a continental Ukrainian community. Winnipeg’s Canadian Ukrainian Athletic Club, for example, visited Ontario at the invitation of the Kenora Ukrainian Athletic Club, while members of the Toronto Ukrainian Softball League journeyed to the United States to take part in sports tournaments hosted by the Ukrainian Youth League of North America.

But Ukrainian Canadians also participated in sport as Canadians. Perhaps the first Canadian of Ukrainian descent to compete in an officially sanctioned sporting event, Manoly Mihaychuk had placed third in the pole vault at a Manitoba-North Dakota intervarsity track and field meet in 1914. According to an unsubstantiated report in the *Ukrainskyi holos* calendar-almanac for 1915 he also won a Canadian title in a "jumping" event. In 1923, Mihaychuk, now a dentist, organized the first Ukrainian "sports day" in Winnipeg.<sup>27</sup> The interwar adoption of Ukrainian field day, to be held on 1 July, marked a deliberate decision by Winnipeg's Ukrainian community to copy the Dominion Day tradition of the other sport clubs in the city, and bore testimony to increasing Canadianization. The Ukrainian event, which continued for several years to become a Dominion Day tradition itself, included competitions in softball and track and field.

The Second World War put a damper on sports across Canada as the shortage of men forced most clubs to reduce their activities and some to cease their programs altogether. It would not be farfetched to speculate that the large number of Ukrainians who volunteered for military service overseas were motivated in part by the role sport had played in their lives as adolescents and young men. The sense of "loyalty and duty to one's side" that sport encouraged and which constituted "the essence of patriotism," together with a sense of Canadianness arising from a shared sporting field with other Canadians, helped commit over 40,000 men to the war effort. Yet Ukrainian Canadian soldiers did not abandon sport. In London, England, members of the Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen's Association organized two teams—one composed of Air Force personnel, the other representing the Army—that were supplied with uniforms by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. During summer 1945 they played interlocking games every Sunday in Hyde Park.<sup>28</sup> On the homefront, both men's and women's CUAC teams, for example, played in fund-raising games as part of the Ukrainian community's support of the Canadian war effort. The women's auxiliary of the CUAC also wholeheartedly assisted the war effort, working with the Red Cross and St John's Ambulance Society.

The years after 1945 witnessed two new developments in Ukrainian Canadian sport. One was the partial rejuvenation, but no more than that, of the old established clubs whose activities and memberships had been hurt by the war. The other was the launching of new clubs associated with Ukrainian Canadian veterans' organizations or the postwar displaced persons' immigration. Camaraderie, especially the camaraderie of shared wartime memories, lay behind the formation of veterans' clubs. Unfamiliarity with many of the sports played in Canada was one reason



why the often sports-conscious displaced persons created separate clubs rather than join existing ones. A second reason was language, for by this time English had almost universally replaced Ukrainian in clubs whose members were virtually all Canadian born and/or raised, and in many cases not of Ukrainian extraction. In addition, many newcomers believed that they would return to Ukraine in the near future, and thus wished to preserve the legacy of their own clubs, sports, and achievements during temporary exile in Canada. Seeing favourite players from Ukraine or the displaced person camps wearing the colours and bearing the names of familiar teams from home provided a continuum of their European experience.<sup>29</sup>

From a purely organizational point of view, the task of forming clubs for the new immigrants was not that difficult. Their numbers included sports enthusiasts who brought full-time organizational experience from interwar Ukraine and who had more recently organized from scratch an intricate network of sports clubs in the refugee camps. Moreover, these organizers had access to accomplished athletes, some with professional European experience, eager to compete. The displaced persons fielded soccer and volleyball teams in particular, and in no time the favourite sports of the old world had combined with old-world experience and skill to create powerful, high-profile entities. In the larger cities, clubs' executives tended to act as though they were running semi-professional or professional enterprises instead of community operations. The athletes were trained by professionals, the calibre of play was high, and the clubs were well marketed in the community. In adopting such tactics, club executives had two interrelated objectives. The first was to field the strongest team possible in order to win championships; the second, to facilitate the first and secure the future at the same time, was to develop a good minor league system that would feed the senior teams. In the interests of winning championships no effort was spared to secure the finest players. Not only were stars arriving from Europe or transferring from other clubs guaranteed jobs and compensation for their services, but non-Ukrainian athletes were also widely recruited. The minor league system, while regarded as an indispensable training ground and reservoir of talent, differed from the senior teams in that it was usually restricted to Ukrainian youth. Yet its influence could be immense; SA Ukraina in Toronto, for example, at one point operated seven minor clubs simultaneously. In cities with smaller Ukrainian populations and attracting fewer displaced persons, the clubs operated on a less elaborate and more community-oriented scale, with the comparatively modest goal of providing Ukrainian youth with a sports venue.

These new Ukrainian clubs became all encompassing, with an in-

fluence and importance extending well beyond sport, and acted as a cohesive force in the community. Ukrainians rallied around their teams just as other Canadians rallied around successful municipal, provincial, or national teams and individual athletes. But Ukrainians' identification with sports figures and sporting prowess had an added dimension. Many believed that the vitality of the community was judged by the success of its teams. Others suggested that the achievements of the clubs could and would both help make the Ukrainian name well known and advance the cause of publicizing the plight of Ukraine.<sup>30</sup> Precisely these sentiments were expressed in *Novyi shliakh*, organ of the Ukrainian National Federation (UNF), when a correspondent congratulated the SA Ukraina-Montreal soccer team for its performance during the 1950 season. "The Ukrainian community of Montreal," he wrote, "thanks our players for their contribution to the popularization of the Ukrainian name in the area of sport."<sup>31</sup> Those who could not serve their team (and thus Ukrainian interests) on the soccer pitch or volleyball court did so from the spectator stands. It was not uncommon during the 1950s to have thousands of fans cheering the SA Ukraina soccer club in Toronto, and over a nine-year period (1952-60) some 1,100,000 fans attended SA Ukraina games.

Unfortunately, Ukrainian sports clubs could be a divisive as well as a unifying force in the community. In Vancouver, Edmonton, Montreal, and Toronto clubs split because of political differences, creating rival organizations that co-existed uneasily and in a sometimes weakened state. In Edmonton alone, for example, three unaffiliated Ukrainian soccer clubs operated in 1951; each experienced problems fielding a full complement at games. Individuals in all four cities expended considerable energy trying to ascertain who in a club was politically correct on matters totally unrelated to sport and who was not. Such political bickering alienated athletes and fans alike and led to the premature demise of many sports clubs.

The impact that Ukrainian community politics could have on organized sport is well illustrated by the history of the Trident sports club of Toronto. In July 1951, following a fallout with SA Ukraina-Toronto, a number of athletes and administrators decided to organize a new group, to be called the Ukrainian Canadian Athletic Club Trident. In the fall Trident president Stephen Rosocha, a member of the UNF hierarchy in Ontario, began negotiations with the UNF branch in Toronto for a merger with its Ukrainian National Sports Club, also "Trident," and incorporation with the UNYF club.<sup>32</sup> There were two primary reasons for wanting a merger, one pragmatic, the other ideological. First, the Ukrainian Canadian Athletic Club Trident required a financial base that it believed the UNF could provide; second, most of its membership har-

boured political leanings compatible with those of the UNF. The Toronto branch of the UNF, for its part, welcomed a merger for its potential to create championship teams and thus raise the UNF's prestige in the Ukrainian community, particularly among the recently arrived displaced persons.

Given that both sides saw advantages in joining forces, although the UNYF may have been more lukewarm than its UNF parent, it is not surprising that the two clubs united in January 1952. The new Ukrainian Sports Club Trident chose Stephen Rosocha as its first president; it also retained the bylaws and colours of the Ukrainian Canadian Athletic Club Trident formed the previous year in the break with SA Ukraina. Although part of the negotiations, the original UNYF Trident club fared poorly in the deal. In 1952 two of the three sports it operated were dropped from the program of the new organization. Softball, with a history of twelve years, and hockey, after existing a decade, disappeared; the recently formed basketball team survived, in part because of its success on the courts. These developments constituted a blow to the youth of the UNYF who grew up playing the sports of their Canadian counterparts, and marked a swing towards attracting the displaced persons by accommodating their interests.

Despite evidence of divisiveness, the success of the Ukrainian Canadian community in organizing postwar sports clubs and leagues, not to mention the success of these clubs and leagues themselves, cannot be overlooked. The political bickering, as far as the sporting world was concerned, had to a large extent subsided by the mid 1950s. Coincidentally, it was during these same years that the Ukrainian clubs achieved some of their greatest triumphs, both on the playing field and in their work with youth.

In the quarter century between 1924 and 1952, organized sport in the Ukrainian Canadian community reached impressive heights. Alongside the often large independent clubs were much more modest undertakings sponsored by local churches, youth organizations, and various cultural, social, and political institutions whose agenda not infrequently extended beyond sport. The local centres where some form of organized sport existed ranged from large to small, served rural as well as urban communities, and covered both central and western Canada. They included the following points: Brooklands, Calgary, Edmonton, Espanola, Hamilton, Kenora, Kingston, Kirkland Lake, Lethbridge, Model Farm, Montreal, Moose Jaw, Mundare, Oshawa, Port Arthur-Fort William, Saskatoon, St. Catharines, Sudbury, Toronto, Vancouver, Windsor, Winnipeg, Yorkton. In many of the major cities more than one club, league, or team existed. If all this proves that organized sport helped build a Ukrainian commun-

ity in Canada, despite the tensions, other sporting developments demonstrate a coalescing "Ukrainian Canadian" identity that found expression beyond Canada's borders. When Ukrainian servicemen in England formed their own baseball teams during the Second World War, they were following in the footsteps of expatriate Manitoba Ukrainians who in 1928 formed the Adanacs baseball club in Detroit.

The initiative for organized recreational activity among Ukrainian Canadians frequently came as much from the grassroots, or bottom up, as it did from community leaders, or the top down. Regardless of their origins, Ukrainian sports clubs, teams, and leagues played a significant role in the experience of both Ukrainian immigrants and the Canadian born and/or raised. Those who participated in sport between the two wars became "better" Canadians. In a Ukrainian context they participated in a Canadian way of life, often competing with or against fellow Canadians, and became more fully integrated into a society where their people were otherwise marginalized. Those who came to Canada after the Second World War used sport as a continuation of their lives in Europe. The massive community involvement made the process of adaption to the new land much easier, and with time the newcomers saw their sports too—soccer and volleyball—become part of the Canadian experience.

Did the Ukrainian Canadian sports clubs, teams, and leagues achieve all the objectives of their organizers? It is difficult to say. The degree to which the clubs attracted individuals to the Ukrainian Canadian community and retained them over time remains unknown. But the clubs did give Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian youth an opportunity to engage in recreational activities through organized sport and thus provided many young men and women with a healthy alternative to the pool hall or idleness. While males tended to compete in the high profile sports and external leagues that brought them wide exposure, females more often took part in internal leagues with activities like exercises and picnics alongside competitive games. Yet in some clubs women's programs outshone the men's. Sport was also recognized as an ideal vehicle for enabling Ukrainian youth to participate as equals in the life of their town or city or even rural area. The status Canadian society accorded sporting success meant that their achievements were respected and they as a result could be more readily accepted into the mainstream of Canadian life.

## Notes

1. Nancy Howell and Maxwell Howell, *Sports and Games in Canadian Life: 1700 to Present* (Toronto 1969), introduction.
2. A. Lunn, *The History of Skiing* (London 1927), 3.

3. Bruce Kidd, "The Workers' Sports Movement in Canada, 1924-40: The Radical Immigrants' Alternative," *Polyphony* 7, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 1985), 80.
4. Iaroslav Khorostil and Roman Kostiuik, *Istoriia sportovoho tovarystva "Ukraina"*—Toronto (Toronto 1983); and George Tatomyr, *Beyond the Uke Line: Ukrainians in the National Hockey League* (Trenton 1992).
5. Michael H. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History*, 2d ed. rev. (Winnipeg and Ottawa 1982), 186.
6. Mykhailo Kumka, *Pochatky rukhanky sered ukraintsiv u Vinnipehu* (Winnipeg 1925), 3.
7. See Henry Roxborough, *One Hundred—Not Out: The History of Nineteenth-Century Canadian Sports* (Toronto 1966), 155-7.
8. Morris K. Mott, "Manly Sports and Manitobans, Settlement Days to World War I" (Ph.D. dissertation, Queen's University, 1980), 190.
9. Letters Patent of the Ukrainian Boy Scouts and Sporting "Sitch" Association of Canada, issued 3 December 1924 by A. Copp, Secretary of State, Canada.
10. See Kumka, *Pochatky rukhanky sered ukraintsiv u Vinnipehu*, 11-17; and Vasyl Dyky, "Viiskovi vpravy Sichei Ameryky i Kanady v rotsi 1927," *Iliustrovanyi kaliendar "Kanadiiskoho ukraintsia"* (Winnipeg 1928), 189-92.
11. Dyky, "Viiskovi vpravy Sichei Ameryky i Kanady v rotsi 1927," 190.
12. Mott, "Manly Sports and Manitobans," 222.
13. Gerald Redmond, *Sports and Ethnic Groups in Canada* (Calgary 1978), 42.
14. Jim Tester, ed., *Sport Pioneers: A History of the Finnish-Canadian Amateur Sports Federation, 1906-1986* (Sudbury 1986), 7, 9.
15. *News Chronicle* (Port Arthur), 24 September 1936.
16. Interview with Michael Starr, Oshawa, Ontario, 5 July 1990.
17. Interview with Dr M. Chepesiuk, Toronto, Ontario, 7 December 1988.
18. Interview with Slaw Rebchuk and John Shaley, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 4 August 1989; see also Mott, "Manly Sports and Manitobans," for a discussion of the role of Anglo-Canadian Protestant churches in sport in Winnipeg in the early twentieth century.
19. V.H. Koman, in *Klenovyi lyst—kanadiiskyi almanakh* (Winnipeg 1929), 70.
20. *CUAC Year Book for 1941* (Winnipeg 1941), 13.
21. *Young Worker* (February 1928): 3.
22. *Young Worker* (20 October 1931): 6.
23. Kidd, "The Workers' Sports Movement in Canada," 85.
24. *News Chronicle*, 24 September 1936.
25. Interview with Michael Starr.
26. *Daily Times Journal* (Fort William), 8 March 1939.
27. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 12 September 1923.
28. See Bohdan Panchuk, ed., *Royal Canadian Legion Memorial Souvenir Book I: Ukrainian Branches* (Montreal 1986), 128-9, 171.



29. The following discussion on post-1945 Ukrainian sport in Canada is primarily based on press clippings compiled by Yaroslav Chorostil, Wolodymyr Ihnatowycz, Ostap Stecki, and the author.
30. K.W. Sokolyk, "'Vedmedyky'—Volleyball Champions," *Polyphony* 10 (1988): 243-4.
31. *Novyi shliakh*, 11 November 1950.
32. See *Trend* (Winter 1952): 37.

# **Rougher Than Any Other Nationality? Ukrainian Canadians and Crime in Alberta, 1915-29**

*Gregory Robinson*

Alberta seems to be in most cases confronted with offenders of the Slav race and some of the worst cases imaginable, so far as Alberta is concerned, are charged to their account.

- *Canadian Police Gazette*, 1928<sup>1</sup>

\* \* \*

We hear quite often that Ukrainians do not respect the law of this country, that there are too many assaults and murders committed by them, and that they are rougher than any other nationality.

- Peter Svarich, Vegreville, 1931<sup>2</sup>

In his 1937 study of the Ukrainian bloc in east-central Alberta, Timothy C. Byrne remarked: "It is true that the Ukrainians, in general, do not enjoy a reputation as law-abiding citizens."<sup>3</sup> His observation understates public opinion in early twentieth-century Alberta, which held that Ukrainians were a primitive people with extraordinary proclivities for crime and vice. This reputation was founded on the claims of prairie social reformers, politicians, and other activists—like James S. Woodsworth, Robert England, Emily Murphy, Nellie McClung, Arthur Ford, James T.M. Anderson, and Frank Oliver—who alleged that western Canada's Ukrainian immigrants committed far more crimes than their numbers warranted. In the eyes of concerned Anglo-Canadians, Ukrainian rural colonies and urban quarters alike were breeding grounds for lawlessness and immorality.

## *Ukrainians' Criminal Reputation*

Over six decades after 1930, such claims remain virtually unchallenged. In fact, in recent years both mainstream and Ukrainian prairie historians have supported the old contentions that Ukrainian pioneer society suffered from a disproportionately high rate of crime.<sup>4</sup> If one takes the police ledgers and prison statistics at face value, however, the criminal record of Alberta's Ukrainian community does not appear to have been any worse than that of the general population of the province in the pre-Depression era. Those who have insisted otherwise have failed to support their claims with hard evidence, and invariably based their arguments on faulty interpretations of crime data and prison records. Statistical data used to indict Slavic settlers as excessively criminal illustrates this point well.

The historical source cited most often by scholars to prove the high rate of crime among Alberta's pre-1930 Ukrainians is a 1928 roster from the Fort Saskatchewan Provincial Gaol, reproduced below.

### MALE INMATES, FORT SASKATCHEWAN GAOL, FOR THE YEAR 1928

#### By Country of Birth:

Canadian	402	Norway	44
Other British	219	Denmark	12
American	89	Finland	8
Austrian	104	Holland	1
Poland	27	Switzerland	3
Roumania	3	France	1
Russia	24	Belgium	3
Germany	10	China	2
Italy	2		
Sweden	13		<hr/> 967

#### By Religion:

Roman Catholic	292	Baptist	32
Greek Catholic	92	United Church	7
Greek Orthodox	5	Chr. Scientist	5
Methodist	64	Jewish	2
Presbyterian	170	Miscellaneous	42
Anglican	129		
Lutheran	127		<hr/> 967

The first researcher to interpret this data was Charles Young in his 1931 study of Ukrainian Canadians and assimilation. He wrote:

This Gaol table is significant for two or three reasons. No list of the inmates according to racial origin could be obtained. No Ukrainians are reported though 104 "Austrians" are, which along with the 54 Poles, Russians and Roumanians, gives a total of 158 Slavs. Yet, while no Ukrainians are reported, 92 of the total population are Greek Catholics. That is to say, in the above table well over half of the Slavs are Greek Catholics, or Ukrainians in other words, for the Greek Catholics in Alberta other than Ukrainians are a totally insignificant number.

In view of the above evidence, there is nothing left for us but to assume that...the Ukrainians are really to be found numbered among the other Slavs. The "exceedingly high rate for the Austrians" is further evidence of this. To what extent the Ukrainians contribute to the Slav aggregate, it is impossible to say exactly, but judging from the above table...it is safe to presume that a very large percentage of the Slavs, especially those classified as "Austrians," are probably Ukrainians. This admittedly gives us no figure for the criminality of the Ukrainians, but on the basis of the data considered in this connection, we are justified in assuming that it is somewhere in the vicinity of the Slav average.<sup>5</sup>

It is quite reasonable to conclude, as Young did, that prison officials did list convicts of Ukrainian origin under other national groupings (Austrians, Russians, Romanians, Poles). But the fact that it is impossible to determine the precise number of hidden Ukrainians in the statistics failed to prevent Young from endorsing claims of a high Ukrainian Canadian crime rate. In his 1985 study of the bloc settlement in east-central Alberta, Ukrainian Canadian historian Orest Martynowych resurrected Young's argument. He attempted a rough estimate of the number of Ukrainian offenders hidden in the 1928 Fort Saskatchewan gaol figures and used that number to calculate the relative criminality of Alberta's Ukrainian population during the late 1920s. "Of 967 inmates," he wrote, "104 were born in Austria, 27 in Poland, three in Rumania and 24 in Russia. Of these, the 92 Greek Catholics and five Greek Orthodox inmates were almost certainly Ukrainians. A few of the 292 Roman Catholics and 170 Presbyterians may have also been Ukrainians. Thus, at least 10 per cent of the Provincial Gaol's inmates were Ukrainians at a time when Ukrainians constituted less than 7.6 per cent of the provincial population."<sup>6</sup>

There are several problems with interpreting the Fort Saskatchewan prison table in the way that Young, Martynowych, and others have done. Of paramount importance is the fact that Fort Saskatchewan was not Alberta's only provincial prison in the 1920s, as Lethbridge handled offenders from areas south of Red Deer. The scholars who have used the

Fort Saskatchewan statistics have ignored this fact and interpreted the figures as though they represent the entire provincial gaol population. Once this mistake is corrected, the figures which once reflected so badly on the Ukrainians actually seem to flatter them. In the 1920s over 90 per cent of Ukrainians in Alberta lived in the northern half of the province—in the big Vegreville bloc, in several smaller settlements in west-central and northwestern Alberta, and in the city of Edmonton. While they may have constituted only about 7.4 per cent of Alberta residents, they made up more than 15 per cent of the population of the area which sent prisoners to Fort Saskatchewan Gaol.<sup>7</sup> Thus, if their proportion of inmates in the Fort was about 10 per cent, they would have been considerably more law-abiding than other peoples of northern Alberta.

Furthermore, when one considers that a variety of factors tended to inflate the number of Ukrainians in western Canadian prisons in the pre-Depression era, the Slavic settlers seem almost paragons of virtue. Not all prisoners sent to Fort Saskatchewan Provincial Gaol were dispatched directly by the courts; a good number ended up there because they could not afford the modest cash penalty imposed as punishment. As Ukrainians constituted one of the province's most economically disadvantaged groups, a convicted Ukrainian offender was far more likely to go to prison for non-payment of a fine than the average Anglo-Canadian law-breaker was.<sup>8</sup> Thus, a higher percentage of Slavs should have ended up at Fort Saskatchewan.

The discrimination Ukrainians suffered at the hands of Alberta's policemen and judicial officials may also have artificially increased the number of Ukrainian offenders on police and prison ledgers. So might differential law enforcement, particularly in communities where Ukrainians were in the minority (that is, outside the bloc or along its borders). In greater Alberta, because law enforcement officers tended to scrutinize the behaviour of "foreigners" more closely than that of other persons, it seems probable that a higher percentage of Ukrainian crimes would be detected and a higher percentage of Ukrainian offenders prosecuted. In 1919, F. Heap decried the fact that most Anglo-Canadians believed Ukrainian immigrants to be more prone to crime despite the lack of reliable supporting statistics. "It should be borne in mind," he pointed out, "that the very prevalence of this opinion or prejudice may itself be responsible for a good many convictions which otherwise would have never taken place. Lawyers have often observed that the rule of English law, as to giving the accused the benefit of all reasonable doubt does not seem by any means to be applied in our courts in favour of the 'foreigners' in actual practice. Then again it should not be forgotten that 'ignorance of the law,' while not to be accepted as a defence in the courts,



nevertheless to some extent accounts for not a few of the convictions against this class, more especially for minor offenses."<sup>9</sup> His own research led Heap to reject that Ukrainian Canadians were disproportionately criminal.

A final factor which would have contributed to a high rate of crime among Ukrainians in Alberta before 1930 was a straightforward demographic one, in that males between the ages of sixteen and twenty-nine accounted for an inordinately large proportion of the province's Ukrainian population.<sup>10</sup> As this is the sex and age group which has always committed the bulk of crimes in Western cultures, a comparative abundance of young men could be expected to have guaranteed the Ukrainians a relatively high crime rate.

The statistical evidence explored thus far, however, suggests that a higher rate of crime among Ukrainian settlers did not exist. How, then, does one account for the numerous contemporary accounts testifying that Ukrainians constituted one of the worst criminal elements in the pre-Depression West? Some of these claims can certainly be dismissed as nativist calumnies. Others can be rejected as politically motivated slanders. For example, the first accusations of Ukrainian immigrant lawlessness came from the turn-of-the-century Tory press. There is little doubt that these newspapers, given their affiliation with the federal Conservatives, made such accusations for political purposes, hoping that by slandering the Galician and Bukovynian peasants pouring into the West they could discredit the Liberal administration responsible for their presence.<sup>11</sup> Other attacks on the Slavic settlers—by Protestant missionaries, Sabbatarians, prohibitionists, and suffragists—can also be linked to ulterior motives. These will be addressed later in the paper.

Of course, one could argue that the Ukrainians did have a high rate of crime which is simply not recorded in the statistical evidence. After all, what do crime statistics measure anyway? How are the numbers of arrests and convictions affected by police efficiency, inequalities in law enforcement, priorities in policing, and levels of social tolerance?<sup>12</sup> An understanding of the functioning of a community's justice system at the grassroots level is clearly crucial to deciphering its criminal statistics.

This article neither attempts to exonerate the Ukrainian pioneers of charges of excessive criminality nor supports those charges. The fragmentary nature of the archival evidence and the methods of recording used by justice officials in pre-Depression Alberta mean the controversy may never be settled. What this paper does argue is that the furore about Ukrainian Canadian crime in the first decades of the twentieth century probably had more to do with the peculiarity of Ukrainian offenses than with their rate or frequency. Taken at face value, the criminal statistics of

the 1915-29 period do not reveal any unique patterns of criminal behaviour in the Ukrainian bloc in east-central Alberta. Rather the settlers appear to have committed the same crimes as other Albertans and in roughly the same measure.<sup>13</sup> However, in going beyond the figures to examine the particulars of police reports, criminal case files, and court transcripts, several distinct trends emerge. Ukrainians in east-central Alberta broke the same laws as other Albertans, but in different ways and for different reasons. Two of the most common types of crimes, theft and violent assault, probably best exemplify the differences in criminal behaviour within the Ukrainian bloc.

## *Theft*

The pattern of theft in east-central Alberta between 1915 and 1929 reflected the rural nature of life in the colony and its residents' relative poverty. In an impoverished environment, the temptation to steal was great, but the range of items that could be stolen was quite small. Theft as a result generally involved the everyday goods of an agricultural society: grain, implement parts, harnesses, hand tools, and the like. Almost all cases of Ukrainian theft involved the misappropriation of the property of poor farmers by other poor farmers.

Theft of grain became a common crime in Ukrainian districts from the time settlers entered the commercial stage of farming during the Great War. In the next decade and a half, with the construction of new railway branch lines and the erection of conveniently accessible grain elevators in the bloc, stolen grain could easily be converted into cash. Stealing a farmer's grain was not complicated. A horse-drawn vehicle pulled up to a granary in a farmyard or field in the middle of the night, and the seed was quickly shovelled into sacks or directly into the grain box.<sup>14</sup> The only clues that the police could hope for were wagon or sleigh tracks that carelessness forgot to conceal. Wise thieves carried out their raids in late fall or early winter, when the ground was frozen but before snowfall, to avoid leaving traceable wheel or runner marks. The purloining of grain proved difficult to prevent, and the police could only encourage farmers to mix coloured confetti with their wheat and oats to help with identification if stolen.

Livestock theft, although less common than the stealing of grain, also plagued the Ukrainian bloc. While it does not figure prominently in police records, anecdotal evidence indicates that the nocturnal rustling of poultry was the most common offense, as hunger drove settlers to steal birds for meat or the eggs they would produce. Horses and cattle, which were both critical for survival and expensive to purchase, also presented a temptation. The relative ease with which stolen animals could be iden-

tified and the severity with which the courts dealt with rustlers, however, made stealing livestock a crime that did not pay. Inspector J.S. Piper of "A" Division of the Alberta Provincial Police (APP) contended that thefts of farm animals in east-central Alberta were generally poorly planned crimes that occurred on the spur of the moment, and attributed them "in a great measure to the accused wanting some ready cash." Piper also observed that stolen horses could be easily traced because a horse thief usually sold them "at the nearest livery stable."<sup>15</sup> APP superintendent W.C. Bryan felt that investigating cattle thefts was somewhat more difficult, principally because rustlers often slaughtered cows, calves, and steers.<sup>16</sup> In an attempt to facilitate the identification of stolen livestock, bloc policemen recommended that settlers brand their animals—but most Ukrainian farmers neglected to do so.

Thieves in east-central Alberta sometimes targeted farm implements, especially equipment left sitting idle in a field or broken-down by the roadside. It was rare for an entire piece of machinery to be stolen, but criminals would strip implements for parts—nuts, bolts, a canvas, a chain, or anything detachable. It seems that a fair number of the bloc's inhabitants favoured such pilferage over the often long trek to the nearest implement dealership or hardware store.<sup>17</sup>

Although most Ukrainian houses did not have locks on the doors, theft from homes occurred relatively rarely. When a burglar did risk entering a neighbour's dwelling, he was usually after a potential cache of money. Ukrainians seldom used banks in the pre-1930 period, distrusting both the institutions and the Anglo-Canadians who managed them. Several attempts to establish branches in the townsites of the bloc failed because they could not attract depositors.<sup>18</sup> The typical Slav kept his entire life savings at home, whether the sum involved a few coins or a few hundred dollars. Farmers might stuff a roll of bills in a mattress, hide it under the floorboards, stash it in an outbuilding, conceal it in a root cellar, or bury it in the yard in a tin box or glass jar. The ingeniousness of hiding places greatly hindered would-be thieves, but did not deter desperadoes. The latter could make keeping one's money at home a perilous business. In one incident, two armed Ukrainians entered a farmer's house at night, tied up the man, forced his daughter to divulge where his savings (\$350) were hidden, then shut his family in the cellar and nailed the door shut.<sup>19</sup>

Generally speaking, a thief could anticipate more immediate reward by breaking into a shop or store under cover of darkness. Such raids netted money, food, clothing, and tools. If a burglar was after cash, the best time to strike was in the late fall or early winter when businessmen carried extra money to cash farmers' grain cheques. Storekeepers rarely

put their money under lock and key, and usually used flimsy tin containers when they did. Some shopkeepers did own safes but often neglected to lock them at night, not infrequently because they never bothered to learn combinations. When thieves struck a general store at Chipman one night in 1929, they took \$100 in cash from an open safe.<sup>20</sup> The police complained that stores in the bloc were "nothing but 'set ups' for petty pilferers" as there were "no substantial locks on the doors nor any fastenings on the windows."<sup>21</sup> Regarded as very serious offenses, thefts from stores or businesses rarely went unpunished, and detectives from Edmonton usually assisted the local detachment constable in his investigations.

The types of theft described above could and did take place elsewhere in the West. What is unique about stealing in the Ukrainian bloc is the utter triviality of the items taken. That is, the material value and quality of stolen goods was much lower in the colony than in other communities. Policemen (and Anglo-Canadians in general) were amazed by the thorough pettiness of Ukrainian thefts. Only in the Ukrainian bloc, for instance, would thieves stoop to stealing rusty barbed wire right off the fence posts.<sup>22</sup> Outsiders, disregarding the poverty of the bloc settlers, could not understand the motivations behind such filching—it scarcely seemed worthwhile in terms of either monetary gain or the risk of a fine and/or imprisonment. Critics ultimately sought biological and psychological explanations, suggesting that kleptomania was a distinctive genetic or national trait of the Galicians and Bukovynians. Thus, Ukrainians earned their reputation as a pilfering race not because of a relatively high rate of theft in their communities, but because of the types of articles stolen. The paltriness, not the volume, of thefts aroused the ire of the Anglo-Canadian. If Ukrainian thieves had been more enterprising (or, indeed, if there had been more valuable items for them to steal), they would have been more inconspicuous and Ukrainian settlers as a whole thereby less maligned.

## *Assault*

The crimes most responsible for Ukrainians' infamy were violent offenses. Common assault, aggravated assault, manslaughter, and murder in the bloc all attracted much attention from policemen, the press, social reformers, and concerned citizens. In the public imagination the Ukrainian colony was a barbarous place, much like the frontier American West, where random violence and brutal murders were everyday occurrences. The official ledger sheets of the APP and the Department of the Attorney General do not suggest that Ukrainians committed more violent crimes than other Albertans. Ukrainian suspects or defendants figured in more

than their fair share of homicide cases in some years between 1915 and 1929, for example, but were underrepresented in others; no Ukrainians were hanged in the province during this period.<sup>23</sup> Scholarly attempts to use federal penitentiary rosters to demonstrate that Slavs had a higher rate of serious crime than the Canadian average are plagued by the problem discussed above of determining "hidden Ukrainians" in the statistics.<sup>24</sup> All in all, the official figures do not reveal unique patterns of violent crime in the pre-Depression Ukrainian bloc.

It is only when one studies individual assault, manslaughter, and murder case files that significant differences in the violent behaviour of Ukrainians and other Albertans become apparent. In the years before 1930 Ukrainian offenses differed primarily in circumstance, motivation, and technique. One tendency, above all, stands out: very little provocation was needed to elicit a violent response. In their confrontations with one another, Galicians and Bukovynians displayed hair-trigger tempers, and any public or private display of anger was prone to induce violence. Examples abound in the official records of criminal assaults precipitated by seemingly harmless quarrels that saw Ukrainian disputants resort to violence almost as an inevitability. Physical blows, beatings, and brawls seem to have been routine means of resolving conflicts in the Slavic community.

Alberta's Ukrainian assaults featured different weapons (and, in fact, were more apt to involve weapons) than non-Ukrainian assaults. The bloc settlers rarely used knives or firearms, choosing everyday objects grabbed in the heat of the moment: a stick, a piece of firewood, an iron bar, an axe handle, a coal shovel, a spade, a wagon bolt, a pitchfork, a neck yoke.<sup>25</sup> Even in premeditated assaults, Ukrainians wielded some bizarre instruments. It is revealing that the immigrant press frequently depicted fighting with sticks, axes, pitchforks, and the like. For example, in one cartoon a Ukrainian woman hit her neighbour over the head with a hoe during an argument, breaking both the tool and her victim's skull. She then demanded sixty cents from the dazed soul as compensation for the damaged hoe.<sup>26</sup> In perhaps the most famous case of assault in the history of the Ukrainian bloc in Alberta (the main event of the "Great Ruthenian School Revolt" of 1913-14), a group of women brained an Anglo-Canadian schoolteacher with an iron pot.<sup>27</sup> In 1921 one Mike Melnyk cut up his neighbour Frank Pysyk with a can opener in the Skaro churchyard; in another case, farmer Eli Pawluk was fined ten dollars for assaulting his son with an oil can; and in 1925 Robert Mennie, as Justice of the Peace, complained that "there was too much fighting done amongst...[the Ukrainians in Andrew district]...with hammers."<sup>28</sup> The predilection of Ukrainians to arm themselves in altercations confounded



the local constabulary. Years later, the only explanation one veteran bloc policeman could offer was "that is what they were used to at that time."<sup>29</sup>

Evidence suggests that Ukrainians' violent behaviour was a legacy of their historical experience in Galicia and Bukovyna. Until the abolition of serfdom in the Austrian empire in 1848, the landed gentry used systematic violence to control the Ukrainian peasants labouring on its estates.<sup>30</sup> Corporal punishment, usually with whips or cudgels, could result in death. In post-emancipation Galicia and Bukovyna it remained acceptable for an employer to inflict pain on his employee as chastisement for sub-standard performance or as incitement to greater achievement. On the eve of the First World War manorial officials still used the knout on Ukrainian labourers hired to work in the fields of large estates.<sup>31</sup> According to historian Roman Rosdolsky, the corporal punishment meted out to the Ukrainian peasantry had a "fatal, destructive influence on the peasant psychology as well as on the entire 'character' of that class."<sup>32</sup> Victims of abuse, many Ukrainian villagers became abusers themselves. Husbands beat wives, wives assaulted husbands, parents thrashed children, older or stronger siblings picked on younger or weaker ones, neighbours brawled with neighbours. The pervasiveness of violence conditioned the Ukrainian peasantry to accept it as a normal part of human existence. Historian John-Paul Himka has noted how the games of peasant children in late nineteenth-century Galicia mirrored the brutality of everyday life, so that "even herdboys after emancipation chose one of their number to be the 'mayor' of the pasture and he used a whip on the disobedient."<sup>33</sup>

Ukrainians immigrating to Canada between 1892 and 1914 carried the psychological scars of their violent past. In their homeland they had exhibited a "slavish submissiveness and resignation" to "the lashings and floggings administered by the landlords, stewards, and manorial bailiffs," attributing such abuses to the misfortune of having been born peasants.<sup>34</sup> In Canada they endured violence from authority figures with the same acquiescence, to the astonishment of Anglo-Canadians like the immigration official charged with settling a party of Bukovynians:

They arrived...in charge of a man whom Mr. McNutt describes as a "dandified Jew," a little runt of a man whom a stout boy could handle, and who had been sent up from Winnipeg in charge as interpreter. This man was armed with a whip, and big burly men meekly took chastisement from his whip as he ordered them around. Mr. McNutt cautioned him against this conduct, but he repeated the offence, and was again cautioned. He said it was the "only way to manage them and they were used to it." Presently Mr. McNutt saw him applying the lash to the women whereupon he kicked him off the station platform.<sup>35</sup>

The Ukrainian settlers not only accepted violence from authorities as natural, but also displayed a casual attitude towards it in their family and intra-group relationships. Scholars have long pointed to Ukrainian proverbs condoning domestic violence ("An unbeaten wife is like an unsharpened scythe").<sup>36</sup> The justification of violence, such as battering or killing an adulterous wife, in immigrant folksongs and stories suggests that at least some settlers considered it appropriate punishment for immorality and/or to vindicate family honour.<sup>37</sup> As in turn-of-the-century Galicia, violence also played a role in social amusements. One popular party game, played not only by children and adolescents but also by adults, involved striking a blindfolded person who had to guess the identity of his attacker. If he guessed correctly, the administrator of the blow donned the blindfold and took his place. Another example of rough entertainment was the dance game *kopirushka*, in which participants imitated the improvised movements of a designated "captain" who beat the dancers with a leather belt if they failed to perform to his satisfaction. A Smoky Lake farmer remarked that the game never failed to liven a social gathering.<sup>38</sup> The legacy of old-country brutality revealed itself in bruises, broken bones, and bloodshed in the new land. In the words of an Anglo-Canadian contemporary from the town of Mundare, the effects of "the sins of the Austrian barons" were being visited on Canadian soil.<sup>39</sup>

One of the more distinctive aspects of violence in the Ukrainian bloc concerned its unusual settings—wedding feasts, christening parties, funeral receptions—prompting Charles Young to redefine "assault" as "a polite term for fighting which frequently occurs at their [Ukrainians'] weddings and dances."<sup>40</sup> The most notorious crime scene, commented upon by both Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians, was indisputably the Ukrainian wedding, whose reputation for wildness and fights was firmly enshrined in prairie legend well before 1930.<sup>41</sup> "It is a fact," the Crown Prosecutor for a liquor case in 1915 stated, "that the people go to these weddings...drink for three or four days, and they usually murder somebody or stab somebody before they get through with it." Years later John Moisey of Andrew recalled that "there were not weddings without a fight, and there were a lot of killings as people used clubs or wagon rods to hit each other." Veteran bloc policeman Dennis Mighall described the Ukrainian weddings he attended as events "where excellent food would be served, and liquor from the local still" and where "invariably a fight would break out." Ted Buchanan, another APP veteran, remarked: "I would put in my show at a Ukrainian wedding, because, in the days when the moonshine was flowing, there was usually a fight and sometimes...a murder." Noting that festive violence was rampant in the Smoky Lake area prior to 1930, one Bukovynian oldtimer summed up

with "it was wild and crazy!"<sup>42</sup>

While it would be a gross exaggeration to suggest that Ukrainian weddings typically ended in murder, three homicides did take place at nuptial celebrations in the Alberta bloc in the period under consideration. The first occurred in 1914 in the Skaro district, when Nikola Kutt was killed during a fight over the dance music to be played; Nikola Kindrat and Mike Wyrbitski were charged with his murder but contradictory evidence from the witnesses led to acquittal.<sup>43</sup> Then in 1922 two Smoky Lake youths, Harry Droniuk and George Worasczuk, waylaid George Popowich on his way home from the reception and beat him to death with grub-hoe handles. The farmer had stood up to their general bullying—as they amused themselves by slapping guests, knocking their hats off, and stealing cigarettes out of their mouths—and paid the price. Justice Walsh of the Supreme Court of Alberta called the murder "one of the most brutal crimes that had ever been brought to his notice," and sentenced the youths to ten years in Prince Albert Penitentiary for manslaughter.<sup>44</sup> In the third case George Elashuk clubbed his half-brother to death in 1924 for stealing sugar from his wagon during a wedding dance at the Ukrainian hall in Smoky Lake. He received a life sentence.<sup>45</sup> These three homicides, profoundly shocking Anglo-Canadians, received extensive and sensationalistic coverage in the province's English-language newspapers. None were premeditated murders, however, but assaults that had unintentionally gone too far.

What aroused violent passions when Ukrainian settlers gathered together? Contemporary observers almost universally blamed an excessive consumption of alcohol. Referring specifically to Ukrainian weddings, one judge reasoned that "when a store of kegs are emptied during the evening, there is sure to be trouble before morning."<sup>46</sup> APP reports attributed violence in the bloc to the conspicuous consumption of moonshine, claiming that Ukrainians' home brew was "of the vilest kind" and that a draught or two of it "often set a man crazy."<sup>47</sup> In the 1980s Ukrainian oldtimers themselves equated liquor with disorder at their nuptial celebrations, telling one researcher that "an unfortunate aspect of Ukrainian weddings in the Smoky Lake area...was widespread 'piatyka/pianstvo' ('excessive drinking'), which more often than not resulted in violent arguments and fights at what was supposed to be a joyous event."<sup>48</sup> In the end, nearly everyone in pre-Depression Alberta seemed willing to endorse Ukrainian proverbs like "Where there's drinking, there's fighting" and "When liquor's about, there's bound to be brawls" to explain festive fury in the foreign colony.<sup>49</sup> The problem, however, was more complex. Although there does appear to be a strong link between drunkenness and violence in the Ukrainian bloc, the emergence of

two groups of Ukrainian Canadian rowdies probably played a more direct role in provoking confrontations at community gatherings.

### *The Dzheky or Jacks*

The group which arguably deserves the greatest share of the blame for violence was "the Jacks" (*dzheky*), who formed a distinct subculture of young itinerant labourers employed on farms, railway gangs, and construction projects, and in logging camps and mines. William Czumer, schoolteacher and chronicler of pioneer life in east-central Alberta, insisted on distinguishing between the nomadic *dzheky* and the older *bidni vuiky* or poor uncles, "farmers who temporarily worked as frontier labourers and then returned to their homesteads."<sup>50</sup> In contrast to the poor uncle, the Jack had no farm, no family, no permanent home, and no permanent job; he belonged to a "large body of floating labour" which drifted from frontier camp to frontier camp, in and out of cities, and back and forth across the harvest fields.<sup>51</sup> Converging on the bloc settlement each year in search of jobs on threshing gangs, many Jacks also wintered in the colony, working as hired hands on farms in exchange for food and lodgings.<sup>52</sup>

The *dzheky* displayed attributes of the classic deviant subculture. Writing in the 1940's, Vera Lysenko called them "the equivalent of today's zoot-suiters," young men who spoke "their own lingo" (a macaronic fusion of English words and Ukrainian grammatical endings), delighted "in stirring up riots," and pitted themselves "against the existing social order."<sup>53</sup> Their clothing visibly set them apart:

They wore a distinctive dress which distinguished them from the other immigrants—a pathetic imitation of what they imagined to be the gentleman's dress of the Canadian: wide trousers with huge cuffs, shoes with thick toes; red neckties with gaudy pins; fancy arm bands and wide-brimmed black hats with tattered brims, worn dashingly to one side.<sup>54</sup>

The Ukrainian pioneers referred to a "Jack movement" or *dzhekoma-khiia*.<sup>55</sup> It possessed its own value system that prized individual freedom, comradeship, valour, virility, cunning, action, adventurousness, and revelry; attached great importance to brute strength and fighting prowess; and scorned formal education and religion. By all accounts, the Jacks had little regard for the future or for the consequences of their actions. "Don't worry" (*ne zhurys*) was their slogan, prompting other Ukrainians to label the Jack movement the "Don't Worry Party" (*partiiia ne zhurys*).<sup>56</sup> The Jacks spent their free time and meagre savings on carousing and gambling at their favourite haunts: the bar, the bootleg joint, the billiard room, the dance hall, the brothel.



But it was their violence that made them notorious. "So common were drunken brawls among Ukrainian labourers," Orest Martynowych writes, "that an anecdote current in Alberta's Creighton Mine in 1918 had the Finns building the local reading hall, the Italians organizing the local orchestra and the 'Galicians' erecting the local courthouse (with the fines they regularly paid for drinking and fighting!)."<sup>57</sup> Like other Ukrainian immigrants, the Jacks often fought with weapons—spades, chains, iron rods, spikes. The knives and revolvers many of them carried came into play more rarely. The pistol, in fact, seems to have served as the final accessory in the Jack's ensemble more than anything else.

Scholars and contemporary observers have interpreted the violence of the Jacks as a natural reaction to brutal and exploitative conditions in mining towns and frontier camps. In these environments, as one early twentieth-century policeman noted, fisticuffs were "as common as beans, boils, and bacon" and fighting served as a "means of letting off steam."<sup>58</sup> Much of the venting of frustrations in the camps took the form of inter-ethnic clashes. Immigrant groups from central and southeastern Europe comprised a large proportion of the work force on the labouring frontier of western Canada, and reciprocal prejudices and antipathies often soured relations so that outbreaks of violence between workers of different nationalities were commonplace. Anglo-Canadian labourers treated all "foreigners" with contempt and heightened camp tensions with their abuses, while owners and bosses encouraged inter-ethnic conflicts as a simple means of forestalling strikes and unionization.<sup>59</sup>

On the labouring frontier, where the lone Galician or Bukovynian became a target for harassment and exploitation by non-Ukrainians, wisdom dictated that he link up with a pack of his countrymen for protection. In fact, the Jack movement appears to have been partially a response to violence and mistreatment in the frontier encampments. William Czumer contended that the *dzheky* "were organized to rescue" Ukrainian comrades who ran into trouble.<sup>60</sup> As a force to be reckoned with, they proved formidable, and in terms of ruggedness and fighting prowess ranked among the toughest men in the pioneer West. The *bidni vuiky* often feared the Jacks, who willingly fought with their own people as much as (or more than) anyone else, yet admired them for their brawniness and the protection they offered to the greater mass of Ukrainian labourers.

The Ukrainian settler's appreciation of the Jacks in the mine or camp, however, turned to resentment when he encountered them in the city or rural bloc. Here the *dzheky* turned from defenders into victimizers, importing the brawling and barbarity of the bunkhouse, and venting their violent tendencies upon one another and fellow Ukrainians. Simply put,



the Jacks attended social events to provoke fights or to take part in any altercations that might arise. Numerous crime reports from points in east-central Alberta describe them arriving at weddings or dances "looking for trouble," "wanting to lick someone," or "wanting to fight everyone." According to Czumer, "if these hooligans appeared in a hall or at a wedding there was always an unpleasant disturbance....one of these 'Jacks' would have one too many and start to act smart." When the police arrived, he added, the Jack would even grapple with them to "show how tough he was."<sup>61</sup> An Andrew-area pioneer later maintained that the *dzheky* did not go to a wedding to socialize, but "to get drunk and have a fight."<sup>62</sup> If the Jack found no takers for his challenges, he could usually manufacture a confrontation with insults, boorish behaviour, or an unprovoked attack. Even when he had not turned up at a social event in a fighting frenzy, it took little to arouse his fury. The humorist Jacob Maydanyk noted that just looking at a Jack the wrong way could set fists flying: "When he put on a fancy suit...you couldn't even approach him."<sup>63</sup>

Violence at public gatherings served as both diversion and bravado for the Jacks. They seem genuinely to have relished fisticuffs or the administration of a beating and revelled in hooliganism as sport and recreation. Yet they also used fights to prove themselves and win recognition in a community where, as landless and penniless hired hands, they had very low status. Maydanyk observed that they "made their mark by fighting" at weddings.<sup>64</sup> "Making one's mark" meant showing that one was the toughest man (or among the toughest) in a rural community. Unfortunately, in the course of proving himself one bullying Jack could terrorize an entire district—disrupting every social gathering he chose to attend.

It was difficult to combat the hooliganism of the *dzheky*. Farmers who employed a disorderly Jack usually proved reluctant to let him go, because the problems he caused in his free time generally had nothing to do with his job performance. When a Jack did provoke the wrath of his farm boss, it was usually because he had started an affair with the man's wife or seduced his daughter.<sup>65</sup> As hired men, the *dzheky* had a reputation for hard work and played a key role in the development of pioneer homesteads, and without the cooperation of their employers, a community proved relatively powerless to discipline unruly farm labourers. Occasionally, however, notorious Jacks provoked a major backlash. In 1922 residents of the Andrew district petitioned the Alberta government to investigate the activities of one particularly disreputable fellow, Petro Feschuk, declaring that he "should not be allowed to live among the people of this district on account of his immorality and his misbehav-

ious."<sup>66</sup> Traditional restraints of censure from relatives, friends, and neighbours or of financial dependence had little effect on the *dzheky*, because the young men earned their own living and usually had no strong ties of family or fellowship in the rural communities where they worked.<sup>67</sup> Nor did priestly admonitions have an impact, since the labourers tended to reject the authority of the church and the Christian moral code. As Vera Lysenko noted, "while most of the settlers kept all the unwritten laws of the community, the Jacks ran wild and cast a black mark on the Ukrainians."<sup>68</sup>

Most bloc settlers learned to endure the raging of the Jacks as they did prairie thunderstorms or blizzards. Some even came to sympathize in spite of all the trouble they caused. Maydanyk, for one, said that "you couldn't really blame them, because they didn't know any better."<sup>69</sup> Ultimately, the men of the *dzhekomakhiia* continued their rowdiness until advancing age mellowed them, the Ukrainian Canadian socialist movement absorbed them, or the great eras of railway construction, coal mining, and the hired hand came to an end.

### *The Buhai or Bulls*

Before its demise the *dzhekomakhiia* contributed to the rise of a new breed of roughnecks in the bloc settlement, "the Bulls" (*buhai*). Rather than develop their own distinct subculture, these youths simply adopted the values and trappings of the Jacks: dressing like their heroes, carrying revolvers, engaging in vandalism and petty crime, brawling at weddings and dances. The Bulls emerged from a generation of Ukrainian farm boys who had grown up during the most desperate years of the pioneer struggle. As children they idolized the Jacks who worked on their parents' farms and tried to emulate their behaviour. The *dzheky*, says Vera Lysenko, exercised a "demoralizing influence on the sons of farmers, whom they fascinated with their yarns of adventure, their flashy costume, and their specious ideas of freedom and don't-worry-ism....Often a fine type of boy fell in with these 'Jacks' and had his whole life ruined by their uncontrollable way of living."<sup>70</sup>

The values and attitudes of the *dzheky* appealed to the young men of the bloc. Like the Jacks, the Bulls knew poverty intimately, had minimal formal education, and held little hope for the future. They had spent their childhoods performing endless chores around the homestead, living in crude dugouts or one-room hovels, eating with their hands out of communal bowls, and drinking out of tin cans. They had gone barefoot in summer, worn homemade shoes of gunny sacks and rags in winter, and had virtually no free time for play. During these austere years, as one contemporary commented, Ukrainian children "were growing up like

barbarians."<sup>71</sup> William Pylypow, son of Iwan Pylypow (one of the original settlers in the Edna-Star district), saw his as a "lost generation":

Well, even at our place at times, and certainly at the other places where the parents were poor, the children our age had a hard time. When there was only a little food, it had to be given to the babies and the younger children, and many of our age are stunted and suffered from lack of nourishment. So too with clothes and many other good things—the younger children got them. Then when schools were started in our areas, often several years later, we were too old to go.<sup>72</sup>

Given their childhood poverty and drudgery, the dreams of a prosperous North American lifestyle exerted a strong hold on Ukrainian farm boys in the 1920s. Inevitably, these impossible hopes became sources of frustration. "Marginal men" caught in a sociocultural limbo, neither the Jacks nor the Bulls were equipped for success or acceptance in the new land. It is not surprising that "don't-worryism" provided a ready philosophy of life and hell-raising an effective outlet for discontent.

Contemporary observers provided a number of explanations for the Bulls. Robert England attributed the emergence of an anti-social generation of young men in Ukrainian rural communities during the 1920s to the grind and oppressiveness of family farmsteads and the restiveness of farmers' sons. "Many of them like to spend much of their time in the towns about the poolrooms," he wrote, and some, "in order to provide themselves with money, have stolen wheat from their fathers and sold it. Most of the young men, unmarried, chafe under the parental roof and seek to be free lances to go where they wish, but have not the ability to stick to one job and master it. These young men have become a source of worry to the parents, a problem to the police, and a bad example to the adolescent boy."<sup>73</sup> Charles Young blamed a breakdown in parental authority, even though it was impossible for immigrants in Canada to maintain the almost complete control over their offspring that peasant fathers had exerted in Galicia. He wrote:

Lord of his home in the past, the Ukrainian parent has found that gradually his authority has waned. Whereas in the early days "the old men formed public opinion" in the communities, they no longer do so. The young men, surer of foot, more accustomed to the ways of the new world and slightly contemptuous of the old, have taken their place and have gone their own way. In many cases they have made a sorry mess of things. By staging wild parties, forming gangs, getting mixed up with the lawyers in the settlements, etc., they are giving the Ukrainian settlements a reputation for lawlessness and disorder....imperfectly assimilated adolescents, knowing a little English, without character

training, and shut off from the traditional prohibitions of the older people become a serious menace.<sup>74</sup>

To T.C. Byrne, the "maladjusted" state of the half-assimilated Bulls, estranged from both Ukrainian and Canadian society, encouraged criminality. At the same time, he considered the phenomenon "of only passing significance" and a natural step in "the assimilative process."<sup>75</sup> Many of Byrne's contemporaries, however, saw nothing at all "natural" in the riotous conduct of the sons of Ukrainian settlers.

Yet the Ukrainian intelligentsia was probably more critical of the Bulls than Anglo-Canadian pundits were. The Ukrainian-language press of the pre-Depression era regularly featured articles and editorials condemning the deviant behaviour of young men in the bloc settlements. The lawlessness of the Bulls, these writers maintained, stigmatized all Ukrainians as undesirable citizens and reinforced anti-Slav prejudices.<sup>76</sup> In other words, the hooliganism of its rural youth was a great "national" tragedy for the Ukrainian people in Canada. Some Ukrainian leaders, however, saw this ruffianism as merely the latest manifestation of an age-old problem of wayward youth. The Greek Catholic bishop, Vasyl Ladyka, strongly sympathized with the "much-abused" younger generation of Ukrainian Canadians. "I do not believe that this young generation is steeped in sin," he stated. "I know hundreds of young men...who are the finest type that could be desired....Of course, there are some young people today who are thoroughly bad, but when was there a generation without such black sheep?"<sup>77</sup> The Bulls were definitely the black sheep of the Ukrainian colony. Moreover, both officialdom and the Canadian public considered them far more menacing than their foreign-born fathers had ever been. Unlike their elders, the Bulls had little or no fear of (or respect for) the Canadian police.<sup>78</sup>

The Bulls' behaviour at weddings and dances exposed the developmental scars suffered during their upbringing. Few could be described as good mixers, rarely conversing or dancing at public gatherings, preferring to stand around the periphery—intently puffing cigarettes and quaffing moonshine. They fit the description of Ivan Petrushevich, who noted in 1917 that Ukrainian rural youth lacked mental stimulus. "Their lives revolve around eating, drinking, sleeping, and working. When two young people meet, they have practically no topic of common interest. Of the outside world, with its manifold problems, its interests, its struggles, its joys and sorrows, they know nothing."<sup>79</sup> At social events, the interactions of the Bulls consisted chiefly of jostling with machismo bravado, knocking each other's hats off, or swatting cigarettes out of each other's mouths.<sup>80</sup> Sometimes these actions were designed to precipitate a fight but the young men generally accepted them as good-natured amusement.

As a celebration wore on, however, and as the young men imbibed more and more alcohol, the jovial slaps and pushes became less controlled and more likely to incite anger and confrontation. Then a fight would erupt, sometimes producing a brawl. In 1926 Andrew JP Gregory Moisey saw too much of this "rough fun" carried on around dance halls, parties, and weddings, and held it responsible for most of the fights in the Ukrainian colony.<sup>81</sup>

Some Bulls, however, went to weddings and dances with no other intention than to create disturbances. For example, Ukrainian toughs Nick and John Chomaschuk showed up at a wedding at Sunland and "wanted to fight everyone."<sup>82</sup> Some Bulls even disrupted the weddings of their own siblings. One farmer in the Kahwin district had to lay charges against his own son for "making lots of trouble" at a family wedding and "wanting to fight everyone there."<sup>83</sup> John Frunchak initiated a full-fledged brawl at a dance at Willingdon by marching into the middle of the floor and shouting, "I am John Frunchak and there will be no square dancing here!" He had paid his fifty-cent admission fee, he said, and "would not stand" for dancing he did not like. The farmers present offered to reimburse him but the obstinate Bull preferred a fight which ended in a free-for-all.<sup>84</sup> The potential for serious injury existed whenever Bulls started a fight at a wedding or dance, especially when they arrived with iron bars, cudgels, brass knuckles, blackjacks, jackknives, and even revolvers tucked in their pockets.<sup>85</sup>

The Bulls sometimes organized themselves into bands resembling youth gangs. The capers of small packs of brothers, cousins, or neighbours gave certain localities in the bloc settlement notorious reputations. Typically, the members of such groups became repeat offenders—perpetrating crimes from vandalism and petty theft to aggravated assault. Charles Young credited them with both a disproportionate amount of Ukrainian crime and Ukrainians' "unfortunate reputation" that was "altogether out of keeping with the general and actual situation." He identified the Two Hills district as being the most crime-ridden area of the Alberta bloc and blamed young men from two families. One of their members had been up for conviction seventeen times.<sup>86</sup> The Bulls from Two Hills committed a wide variety of crimes, including cattle thefts and assaults. They also proved particularly bold, using threats against policemen, justices of the peace, magistrates, and Crown attorneys to get charges dropped. For example, charged with theft in 1929, John Pawluk threatened APP Sergeant Hidson and Police Magistrate Gore Hickman with violence if they did not arrange a plea bargain for him. When they refused, he had his lawyer warn the two officials that he "had a bad reputation and that he or his friends would likely seek revenge if the



prosecution went further." In a report to police headquarters, Sergeant Hidson informed the APP Commissioner that this type of intimidation had been going on in Two Hills and Kaleland for some time.<sup>87</sup>

One of the bloc's most infamous Bulls during the late 1920s and 1930s was George Basaraba, "the cause of considerable trouble in the Vegreville and Mundare districts."<sup>88</sup> By the time Basaraba reached twenty-one years of age in 1931, he had been convicted of numerous crimes (several assaults causing grievous bodily harm, thefts, vagrancy, and driving a car while intoxicated) and had served two prison terms. Each time the Bull was released from jail, he would run wild until the police managed to capture him—evidently no easy matter. APP Inspector Hancock commented: "In addition to parents and a large number of other relations he had many friends scattered through the district, also there were many who provided him with shelter and board through fear, thus he was successful in evading the police."<sup>89</sup> Nevertheless, Basaraba went to jail for the third time in 1931 for five offenses: assaulting farmer Victor Koroliuk with an iron bar, striking Koroliuk's wife with a large stone, rustling a horse, stealing a harness, and purloining a rifle.

Four Bulls—brothers Nick, Metro, John, and George Pawliuk—plagued Constable Bill Reay during his tenure in the Andrew district. Their many crimes included assault, grain theft, cattle stealing, and unlawfully escaping custody. Their fighting careers ranged from brawls at weddings and dances to battles in Andrew's beer parlour and billiard hall. On one occasion the Pawliuks ganged up on the Ukrainian manager of the Andrew poolroom, Harry Hackman, and "nearly kicked him to death with their heavy boots." Their outspokenness at the subsequent trial, where they "seemed to enjoy telling how they nearly killed Hackman," earned three of the brothers jail sentences and the fourth a fine. Bill Reay's ongoing struggle with the Pawliuks demonstrated how much trouble one small gang of rampaging Bulls could cause a lone detachment constable. Reay declared that the family had given him "more trouble than any in the country, one of them was all the time in jail...[and]...they had no fear of jail or fines."<sup>90</sup>

The most notorious of the Pawliuk boys was Nick. Although known as "the Andrew Terror," his criminal pursuits carried him into other areas of the bloc and brought him into conflict with several APP detachments. Besides Reay, Constable Warrior of Fort Saskatchewan, Constable James of Lamont, and Corporal Nalder of Vegreville all laid charges against him.<sup>91</sup> Pawliuk was a chronic offender who spent most of his young adulthood behind bars. In 1925 he was sentenced to two years in Prince Albert Penitentiary on two counts of theft. In March 1927, two months after his release, he was convicted of horse stealing and sent

to Fort Saskatchewan Provincial Gaol for six months. Having served this sentence, "the Andrew Terror" soon ran afoul of the law again. Arrested for seven new acts of horse theft, he was found guilty and handed a ten-year prison term.

In 1930 Nick Pawliuk's lawyer, A.H. Gibson of Fort Saskatchewan, gave some insight into the mentality of the young Ukrainian outlaw in a letter to the Deputy Attorney General:

Nick Pawliuk has shown himself quite indifferent to punishment, because his living conditions in jail either here [at Fort Saskatchewan Provincial Gaol] or in the Prince Albert Penitentiary are much better than at home.

He simply stole because he wanted the thing stolen or he wanted the money which it would bring. He tried to evade detecting and punishment but knew that if he was caught the only thing that could happen to him was a term of imprisonment. What bothers him most is being deprived of his liberty. Aside from that the jail is better than any home he ever had.<sup>92</sup>

Pawliuk's lack of concern for the consequences of his actions, his indifference to punishment, and his apparent remorselessness about his transgressions appear to have been characteristic of both the Jacks and the Bulls.

### *Understanding the Jacks and the Bulls*

There was, however, one major difference between the violence of the Jacks and that of the Bulls. The wedding brawling of the latter had overtones of the youth gang protecting its home territory, for the confrontations often involved young men from a particular farming district confronting guests from other districts. Evidently, many Bulls would not tolerate the presence of strangers or outsiders at festivities in their rural community.<sup>93</sup> Such territorial confrontations were also common at wedding celebrations in the homeland. According to John-Paul Himka, "antagonism between villages, which often passed into brawls" was a feature of traditional peasant life in late nineteenth-century Galicia.<sup>94</sup> Kazimierz Dobrowolski's study of traditional peasant culture details the motivations for such clashes:

A village community with a strong sense of internal solidarity had also a well-defined sense of distinctiveness in relation to the outside world. Thus the inhabitants of neighbouring villages were always treated as strangers. They were treated differently, though with varying degrees of antipathy. The following statement by one of my informants will best illustrate this ethical relativism: "It is not permissible to beat the people from our own village but the people from other villages can (and

should) be beaten."

Such an attitude often led to conflicts with the inhabitants of other communities, which sometimes developed into prolonged and acute antagonism.<sup>95</sup>

Hostility "often led into open brawls, in which groups mainly of youngsters took part," typically at weddings and particularly if the bride and groom came from different villages. Dobrowolski pointed out that inter-village antagonism functioned "to provide a barrier to the access of strangers,"<sup>96</sup> in that peasants understood that outsiders could, through courtship and eventual marriage, come to own property in their village. As surrendering scarce land to unfamiliar rivals was unpleasant for village youths, they resented the socializing at weddings that took place between their local girls and lads from other villages. This enmity regularly sparked confrontations.

Such territorial antagonisms seem to have survived the uprooting of migration, despite the abundance of land in the Canadian West. During the settlement period, peasants from a particular village in Galicia or Bukovyna not only often left en masse but also chose adjacent homesteads in Canada, so that most of the Ukrainian blocs were characterized by clusters of settlers bound by strong old-country kinship and village ties.<sup>97</sup> Unfortunately, this preservation of solidarity and cultural distinctiveness retained the attendant animosities for countrymen originating from other villages. The pattern of Ukrainian settlement in Canada may actually have exacerbated traditional frictions between different groups of Ukrainian peasants. In Galicia and Bukovyna conflicts had been between villages in close proximity to one another, and the clashes stemmed, in part, from marginal differences in dialect and folk culture. In Canada, however, Ukrainian immigrants from one village often settled beside immigrants from a completely different region. This resulted in greater dissimilarities in dialect and folk culture, and thus greater antipathies, between adjoining groups of Ukrainians than in the homeland.

There are many examples of old-country-style antagonisms among Ukrainian settlers in Canada. Initially, the most obvious conflicts pitted Greek Catholic Galicians against Orthodox Bukovynians, people who differed not only in religion but also in dialect and customs. Canadian immigration officials noted a fierce friction between the two groups and attempted to keep them separated during the colonization process. For their part, at least in east-central Alberta, Galicians and Bukovynians preferred to settle apart from one another. It was not always possible, however, and when circumstances forced them to share the same immediate living space, confrontations ensued.<sup>98</sup> But animosities existed

even between Ukrainian groups from the same Austrian crownland. Pioneer J.M. Lazarenko recalled pitched battles between groups of school children who had originated from different sectors of Galicia:

There were two factions representing those who originated from the northern part of Halychyna [Galicia] and those from the south. There were considerable differences in speech, pronunciation, and generally in the language. West of the school, where we lived, parents came from the southern part and the others [who lived east of the school] from the northern part of the province. Many a time following a dismissal of the school at 4 o'clock, the east waged a fight against the west, and one side would be charging the other for some distance and then retreat.

On one occasion the west picked up some clubs, hid them in the grass along the road and, when the east charged, the west grabbed the clubs and really gave it to them. This fighting continued for a number of days.<sup>99</sup>

It would seem that older males fought similar battles, for the same reasons, at weddings. Many marriages in Canada united men and women from not only different villages but also different districts or regions of origin and different religions. Given the Ukrainian intra-group antipathies of the era, it is no wonder that such unions produced fisticuffs and assaults at weddings feasts. Fights often escalated into full-blown donnybrooks because kinsmen and friends of the original combatants took sides and joined the fray.<sup>100</sup>

One of the most elemental traditions of the Ukrainian wedding feast encouraged fighting: the custom of inviting all members of the community to the celebration. Tradition obligated the host to welcome anyone who might appear. As far as APP veteran Ted Buchanan was concerned, this was a recipe for disaster. He felt that most fights at Ukrainian weddings stemmed from the fact that a host often invited or welcomed guests who were sworn enemies: "Two people who hadn't been together in years and were at loggerheads would meet at a wedding, get boozed up, and then there was an argument and sometimes there was a murder or manslaughter. They would go after one another with a neck yoke or an axe handle or something. Or sometimes one waylaid the other on the way home."<sup>101</sup> Even if families flouted the rules and chose not to invite local troublemakers, the individuals often showed up anyway, their appearance precipitating a row.<sup>102</sup> In the course of daily life enemies could easily avoid each other, and tended to do so, but a wedding was a special occasion that drew a community physically together. Two enemies ending up in the same place at the same time—each convinced of his right to be there, each adamantly opposed to the presence of the other—meant trouble.



The custom of the "open invitation" may not have been the only practice that encouraged violence at Ukrainian weddings in east-central Alberta. Another tradition, the "confrontation at the gate," where the groom and his supporters gained access to the bride's house only after negotiations and a "symbolic" struggle, may have contributed to the problem; evidently, the ritual confrontation sometimes got out of hand.<sup>103</sup> The prolonged duration and cramped conditions of rural weddings may have also encouraged disorder. In the pre-Depression bloc most nuptial feasts took place in farmhouses, not community halls, and guests would pack the home day and night for as long as the festivities lasted (three or more days). Dozens or even hundreds of people showed up to celebrate, and while some went home to sleep, many others bedded down each night at the farm of the host. People slept all over his house, in his barn and outbuildings, and under wagons in his farmyard. In most cases guests had to eat and sleep in shifts so that all could be accommodated. Pioneer accounts testify to the fact that the congestion of the Ukrainian rural wedding could become irritating, especially by the third or subsequent day of partying. Sparks of irritation would then explode into fights and brawls, particularly when fuelled by prodigious quantities of alcohol. "The weddings lasted far too long in my opinion," stated one pioneer.<sup>104</sup>

The criminological theory which may offer the greatest insight into violence in the pre-1930 Ukrainian bloc—the pervasiveness of assaults, the use of weapons in altercations, the brawling at weddings and public gatherings, and the aggressiveness of the Jack and Bull movements—is the "subculture of violence thesis" developed by sociologists Marvin Wolfgang and Franco Ferracuti.<sup>105</sup> This thesis maintains that violence is viewed as an everyday part of life in certain subsocieties, particularly those of working classes and/or underclasses. It becomes part of a lifestyle where members of the culture group use physical attacks as a routine means of conflict resolution. Toleration and the acceptance of assaultive behaviour appear to have been prominent cultural themes of early Ukrainian Canadian society. Possibly the conditions of life in Galicia and Bukovyna predisposed the Ukrainians who immigrated to east-central Alberta to use aggression to settle disputes.

Wolfgang and Ferracuti asserted that members of the subculture of violence share a common defense mechanism based on assumptions about the violent tendencies and responses of other members of their subsociety, particularly after certain stimuli have been observed. In early Ukrainian Canadian society, the public expression of anger seems to have triggered precisely such a defense mechanism and its violent reaction. Contemporary descriptions of pre-Depression assaults in east-central



Alberta suggest that the assaultive behaviour of the bloc settler hinged on three assumptions he made about his fellow Ukrainian's violent tendencies. First, he presumed that a public expression of anger by another Ukrainian would be followed closely by a physical attack. Second, he supposed that this attack would begin with a hard first blow, probably with a weapon. Third, he believed that if this first strike was a decisive one, he would be unable to protect himself from subsequent blows. Logic thus dictated that the Slavic settler deliver a preemptive and preventative blow against his potential attacker, and that he ensure the blow's effectiveness by rendering it with a weapon.

This represents what one might describe as a "gunslinger mentality"—except that the Ukrainian pioneer would grab a stick, a neck yoke, or whatever was handy in a tight spot instead of a six-gun. Like that of the quick-draw artist, this defense mechanism depended very much on an "it-was-either-him-or-me" rationalization of violence, which helps to explain why, in the subculture of violence, assaultive behaviour produces little or no feelings of guilt in the aggressor. It also illuminates the rationale behind the pervasive use of weapons in arguments and explains why employing a weapon in a fight did not cause a loss of face in the Ukrainian community. The Slavs do not seem to have heaped scorn on the wielder of the cudgel or iron bar, labelling him a "dirty fighter." According to Wolfgang and Ferracuti, such legitimization of extreme aggression serves as a cultural theme of the violent subsociety.

How does the subculture of violence thesis help to explain the behaviour of the Jacks and Bulls specifically? First of all, it holds that "the subcultural ethos of violence" will be "most prominent in a limited age group, ranging from late adolescence to middle age,"<sup>106</sup> precisely the age group of both the Jacks and the Bulls. It also holds that young men in the subculture of violence share the violent tendencies of their larger subsociety, but unleash them with greater frequency and ferocity, which aptly describes the assaultive behaviour of the Ukrainian roughnecks. Thus, according to the criteria used by Wolfgang and Ferracuti, the Jacks and the Bulls qualified as two subcultures of violence within early Ukrainian Canadian society (which, itself, qualified as a subculture of violence within contemporary Canadian society).

Wolfgang and Ferracuti also give insight into Ukrainian wedding violence through the proposition that members of the subculture of violence often commit violent acts only in specific situations. Jacks and Bulls showed up at weddings and dances anticipating the possibility that a fight would break out, if not ready to provoke it themselves. In fact, the bloc settlers as a whole came to these festivities aware of the less-than-remote chance that some type of altercation would take place. The highly-

charged atmosphere of the Ukrainian wedding, where all guests warily watched for the outbreak of trouble, itself increased the probability that confrontations would occur. Any number of factors—a misinterpreted look, remark, jostle, or motion—could unintentionally spark a fight.

### *The Anglo-Canadian Reaction*

As non-Ukrainians rarely socialized with Ukrainians in the pre-Depression bloc, they seldom found themselves in the social situations which precipitated Ukrainian violence. The one predominant characteristic of this violence is that it involved Ukrainians assaulting other Ukrainians, brawling with other Ukrainians, and killing other Ukrainians. This explains why Anglo-Canadians lived in the bloc without fearing their Slavic neighbours. The lack of a perceived threat to the general population is evident in the coverage of Ukrainian violence in the English-language press. James S. Woodsworth captured the Anglo-Canadian mood nicely when he wrote of Ukrainian weddings: "A feast—a fight—broken heads—unpronounceable names—the same thing over and over again, with wearying monotony. 'Those beastly foreigners are at it again!' exclaims the public and dismisses the subject."<sup>107</sup> This is the reaction of the aloof spectator.

As Britishers were not themselves caught up in the vortex of violence in the Ukrainian community, they could afford to observe it with dispassionate superiority. When she visited the Ukrainian colony east of Edmonton in 1916, Emily Murphy commented on the "tremendous fighting energy" of the Slavs with the detachment of a Roman patrician viewing a gladiatorial spectacle. "They are bonny fighters these Ruthenians from Galicia," she wrote, "and if they cannot 'have the law' on one another they may always have the consolation of fisticuffs. And what pray, are muscles hard for and skulls thick, except to fight. Riddle me that!"<sup>108</sup> Murphy was expressing her Anglo-Canadian contemporaries' expectation that Slavs could not be expected to behave in other than a barbarous fashion, yet with the self-assurance that such behaviour would not touch their world.

Why did unthreatened Anglo-Canadians become preoccupied with Ukrainian violence? The answer lies in the outlandishness and luridness of the violent crimes committed by Ukrainians in the bloc. One finds bizarre details that would appeal to the prejudices and curiosities of tabloid readers. In terms of novelty, a Ukrainian wedding donnybrook rated higher than the run-of-the-mill barroom brawl. A battle with pitchforks proved more intriguing than a routine back-alley stabbing. An axe murder made for more tantalizing and shocking reading than one committed with a gun. Over time, the sensational coverage of Slavic crimes

in newspapers and the peculiar particulars of these offenses had the psychological effect of convincing both the police and the general public that Ukrainians were committing a far greater number of violent crimes than their numbers warranted. This belief held sway for decades—despite the fact that no reliable statistics existed to support it.

Ukrainian assaults also attracted attention because their circumstances violated established principles of behaviour in the West. For example, the Ukrainian tendency to grab for weapons in a scuffle went against the established British standard of "the fair fight." In his 1909 novel *The Foreigner*, Ralph Connor had his Anglo-Canadian hero reprimand a Galician for using a stake as a weapon during a brawl, telling him that "only a fool loses his temper, and only a cad uses a club or a knife when he fights....We won't stand that in this country." After introducing the Galician to gentlemanly fisticuffs (and thrashing him in the process), the protagonist warns the immigrant that he "must learn to fight without club or knife" or he would end up (like so many other Galicians) "in prison or on the gallows."<sup>109</sup> A common early twentieth-century perception and prejudice was that the Ukrainian settler did not know "how to fight like a white man." He would "always pick up something in a fight—rock, knife, or piece of two-by-four."<sup>110</sup> In the eyes of Anglo-Canadians, this "uncivilized" behaviour proved the Slav a brute.

Finally, the settings of Ukrainian assaults challenged the values of Alberta's Anglo-Canadian Protestant majority. While Anglo-Canadians and Ukrainian Canadians both participated in drunken brawls, they chose different locations. The former tended to limit fracas to the bar or billiard hall. The latter let fists fly in a wider variety of settings—most disturbingly at weddings, christening parties, and funeral receptions. To Anglo-Canadians, such behaviour at celebrations of Christian rites and sacraments was an abomination. Making matters worse, these celebrations (including requisite drinking and optional violence) frequently took place on Sunday. The Ukrainian wedding, then, became a favourite illustration of Ukrainian criminality and barbarity, and served as an especially useful instrument for temperance crusaders, prohibitionists, and Sabbatarians in harnessing western Canadian nativists to support their respective causes.

## Notes

1. Alberta Provincial Police, "Canadian Police Gazette 2, no. 12 (March 1928): 1.
2. *Vegreville Observer*, 18 March 1931.
3. Timothy C. Byrne, "The Ukrainian Community in North-Central Alberta" (M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1937), 96.

4. See, for example, Orest Martynowych, *The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta, 1890-1930: A History* (Edmonton 1985), 288-93; and Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies: A History* (Toronto 1984), 266.
5. Charles Young, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study in Assimilation* (Toronto 1931), 264.
6. Martynowych, *Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta*, 289.
7. *Census of the Prairie Provinces 1926* (Ottawa 1931), xi-xiv; Martynowych, *Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta*, 61; *Census of Canada 1931*, vol. 2, 464-82; J.T. Borhek et al., *Persistence and Change: A Study of Ukrainians in Alberta* (Toronto 1968), 121-2; and James S. Woodsworth, dir., "Ukrainian Rural Communities" (unpublished manuscript, 1917), 4.
8. See Frances Swyripa, "The Ukrainians in Alberta," in Howard Palmer and Tamara Palmer, eds., *Peoples of Alberta: Portraits of Diversity* (Saskatoon 1985), 227-30; Woodsworth, "Ukrainian Rural Communities," 73-94; Martynowych, *Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta*, 120, 136-42; and Young, *Ukrainian Canadians*, 275.
9. F. Heap, "Ukrainians in Canada: An Estimate of the Presence, Ideals, Religion, Tendencies and Citizenship of Perhaps Three Hundred Thousand Ukrainians in Canada," *Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature* 53 (May-October 1919): 42.
10. Martynowych, *Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta*, 291; Young, *Ukrainian Canadians*, 45-6, 274; Wasyl Swystun, "The Shandro District," in Woodsworth, "Ukrainian Rural Communities," 77; Borhek, *Persistence and Change*, 108-19; and Stanley Rands, "The Individual Offender: A Study Based on Case Histories of One Hundred and Twenty-Nine Inmates of Fort Saskatchewan Gaol" (M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1933), 126.
11. Vladimir J. Kaye and Frances Swyripa, "Settlement and Colonization," in Manoly R. Lupul, ed., *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada* (Toronto 1982), 44; John Lehr, "The Government and the Immigrant: Perspectives on Ukrainian Block Settlement in the Canadian West," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 9, no. 2 (1977): 44; and Michael H. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History*, 2d ed. rev. (Winnipeg and Ottawa 1982), 15, 75-6.
12. The writers who have commented on Ukrainian Canadian crime have rarely questioned the deeper meaning of the statistics; a notable exception is Myrna Kostash, *All of Baba's Children* (Edmonton 1977), 154-5.
13. See APP annual reports, 1918-29 (Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, PAA 72.370). Elise Corbet, "The Alberta Provincial Police Post at Andrew, Alberta: A Narrative History" (unpublished research report, Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village, Alberta Historic Sites Service, 1985), 51-2, 126-42, shows a pattern of crime closely corresponding to other APP detachments. One minor discrepancy, the relatively high number of vagrancy cases, seems to reflect the Andrew constable's tendency to charge many offenders with "vagrancy" instead of "common assault," apparently because the impossible fines were considerably less.

14. For a typical incident of grain stealing in the bloc during the 1920s, see PAA 83.1/4206 (middle series).
15. APP "A" Division Annual Report 1921, 31 (PAA 72.370/4a).
16. APP Annual Report 1920, 55 (PAA 72.370/3a).
17. Interview (Gregory Robinson) with E.E. Buchanan, APP/RCMP veteran, Edmonton, Alberta, 3 November 1989.
18. See Byrne, "Ukrainian Community in North-Central Alberta," 35; Radomir Bilash, "Banking in the Rural Town of the 1920's" (environment interpretation statement, Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village, nd); and A. Hrynchuk, ed., *Memories: Redwater and District* (Calgary 1972), 23.
19. APP "A" Division Annual Report 1920, 13-14 (PAA 72.370/3a).
20. *Edmonton Journal*, 23 November 1929.
21. *Ibid.*, 2 August 1929.
22. See PAA 75.126/950. Young, *Ukrainian Canadians*, 275, conceded that poverty was a major factor behind theft, especially of wheat, in Ukrainian colonies.
23. See APP annual reports, 1918-29; Criminal Case Files, 1915-29 (PAA 72.26 and 83.1); and list of executions at Lethbridge and Fort Saskatchewan Gaols, 1912-60 (PAA 80.10).
24. Martynowych, *Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta*, 288-9; and Young, *Ukrainian Canadians*, 263-4.
25. See, for example, Orest Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924* (Edmonton 1991), 95-8; and the following random sampling of assaults in the Ukrainian bloc prior to 1930: PAA 72.26/1340, PAA 72.26/3608, PAA 72.26/6282, PAA 72.26/6390, PAA 72.370/11a (p 3), PAA 75.126/955, PAA 83.1/3516 (middle series).
26. *Humorystychnyi kaliendar "Vuika"* (1928), 88.
27. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, 354-6, 376; and Alberta, *Department of Education Annual Report 1914*, 68-9.
28. PAA 72.26/3877e; APP "A" Division Annual Report 1921, 26; PAA 75.126/951; and "Crime Report re. Elie Worobec—Common Assault," Andrew Detachment, 9 December 1925 (PAA 75.126/1021).
29. Interview (Robinson) with Buchanan.
30. John-Paul Himka, *Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century* (Edmonton 1988), 1-58.
31. *Ibid.*, 147.
32. Cited in *ibid.*, 16.
33. *Ibid.*
34. Rosdolsky, cited in *ibid.*, 16.
35. John Hawkes, *The Story of Saskatchewan and Its People*, vol. 2 (Chicago and Regina 1924), 685.
36. Martynowych, *Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta*, 98; Young, *Ukrainian Canadians*, 279; Friesen, *Canadian Prairies*, 266; and Frances Swyrypa, "From Princess Olha to Baba: Images, Roles and Myths in the History of Ukrainian Women in Canada" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta,



- 1988), 132.
37. See, for example, Marie Lesoway, "Slemko House, Barn and Granary: Narrative History" (unpublished research report, Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village, Alberta Historic Sites Service, 1986), 336-42.
38. Andriy Nahachewsky, "First Existence Folk Dance Forms among Ukrainians in Smoky Lake, Alberta, and Swan Plain, Saskatchewan" (M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1985), 109-10.
39. *Vegreville Observer*, 21 April 1909.
40. Young, *Ukrainian Canadians*, 267.
41. See, for example, Ralph Connor [Charles W. Gordon], *The Foreigner: A Tale of Saskatchewan* (Toronto 1909), 87-8, 93-4; George Chipman, "Winnipeg—The Melting Pot," *Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature* 33 (September 1909): 409; J.S. Woodsworth, "Foreign Immigrants and Temperance," *Christian Guardian* (13 April 1910): 8; Robert England, *The Central European Immigrant in Canada* (Toronto 1929), 84; and Young, *Ukrainian Canadians*, 267, 279.
42. PAA 72.26/23c; interview (Elise Corbet) with John Moisey, Andrew, Alberta, 23 September 1984, and Dennis Mighall, Edmonton, Alberta, 30 August 1984; interview (Robinson) with Buchanan; and Demjan Hohol, "The Grekul House: Narrative History Report" (unpublished research report, Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village, Alberta Historic Sites Service, 1986), 175-6.
43. *RNWMP Report 1915* (Ottawa 1916), 95; and PAA 83.1/4007 (old series).
44. PAA 72.26/4267c; PAA 83.1/2493 (middle series); *APP Annual Report 1922*, 4-6 (PAA 72.370/5a); and PAA 67.172/1599.
45. *APP Annual Report 1923*, 7-8 (PAA 72.370/6a); PAA 72.26/5454; PAA 83.1/3592 (middle series); and PAA 67.172/1800.
46. Chipman, "Winnipeg—The Melting Pot," 115-16.
47. *APP Annual Report 1918*, 23 (PAA 72.370/1).
48. Hohol, "Grekul House," 175.
49. V.S. Plaviuk, *Prypovidky* (Edmonton 1946), 76-7.
50. Vasyi Chumer, *Spomyyny pro perezhyvannia pershykh pereselentsiv v Kanadi, 1892-1942* (Edmonton 1942), 88-9.
51. Woodsworth, "Ukrainian Rural Communities," 3.
52. Marunchak, *Ukrainian Canadians*, 90; and England, *Central European Immigrant in Canada*, 29.
53. Vera Lysenko, *Men in Sheepskin Coats: A Study in Assimilation* (Toronto 1947), 95.
54. *Ibid.*, 96.
55. Chumer, *Spomyyny*, 85-6.
56. *Ibid.*, 85.
57. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, 123.

58. James Emmott, "Policing the Rails," in M.L. Barlee, ed., *The Best of Canada West* (Langley BC 1980): 144-7. See also Marunchak, *Ukrainian Canadians*, 89-90; Lysenko, *Men in Sheepskin Coats*, 95-7; Friesen, *Canadian Prairies*, 292-300; Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, 109-28; and J. Burgon Bickersteth, *Land of the Open Doors: Being Letters from Western Canada* (London 1914), 195.
59. See, for example, Alfred Fitzpatrick, "Out Navvying the Navvies," *Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature* 47 (May-October 1916): 23-4; and Alan Seager, "The Pass Strike of 1932," *Alberta History* 25, no. 1 (Winter 1977): 2, 6-7, 10.
60. Chumer, *Spomyny*, 85.
61. Ibid.
62. Interview (Sylvalya Elchen) with John Kawyuk, Andrew, Alberta, 17 November 1982.
63. Halya Kuchmij, dir., *Laughter in My Soul* (National Film Board of Canada 1983), documentary on Jacob Maydanyk.
64. Ibid.
65. Lysenko, *Men in Sheepskin Coats*, 97; see also, for example, Corbet, "Alberta Provincial Police Post," 119.
66. PAA 75.126/1122.
67. See Lysenko, *Men in Sheepskin Coats*, 97; also Chumer, *Spomyny*, 85.
68. Lysenko, *Men in Sheepskin Coats*, 97.
69. Kuchmij, *Laughter in My Soul*.
70. Lysenko, *Men in Sheepskin Coats*, 96, 97. See also Young, *Ukrainian Canadians*, 268; and interview (Elise Corbet) with Mrs Wilma (Moisey) Bazian, Edmonton, Alberta, 20 November 1984.
71. Maria Adamovska, "Beginnings in Canada," in Harry Piniuta, trans., *Land of Pain, Land of Promise: First-Person Accounts by Ukrainian Pioneers, 1891-1914* (Saskatoon 1978), 73.
72. In James G. MacGregor, *Vilni Zemli/Free Lands: The Ukrainian Settlement of Alberta* (Toronto 1969), 136-7; see also Woodsworth, "Ukrainian Rural Communities," 44, 77, 135-8.
73. England, *Central European Immigrant in Canada*, 87-8.
74. Young, *Ukrainian Canadians*, 281-2. On the traditional authority of the peasant father see Kazimierz Dobrowolski, "Peasant Traditional Culture," in Teodor Shanin, ed., *Peasants and Peasant Societies: Selected Readings*, 2d ed. (New York 1987), 264, 269.
75. Byrne, "Ukrainian Community in North-Central Alberta," 97.
76. Marunchak, *Ukrainian Canadians*, 90.
77. *Edmonton Journal*, 26 April 1929.
78. Kathy Warden, "Memories of 'Maintaining the Right': Three Former Mounties Recall Life in the RCMP of the Twenties and Thirties," *Herald Magazine* (6 July 1973): 9; and Young, *Ukrainian Canadians*, 268.
79. Woodsworth, "Ukrainian Rural Communities," 137.
80. See, for example, PAA 75.126/953, PAA 72.26/4267c, and PAA 67.172/1599.

81. "Crime Report re. Paul Masurinchan—Common Assault," Andrew Detachment, 23 January 1926 (PAA 75.126/928); see also PAA 72.26/6720.
82. "Crime Report re. Nick and John Chomaschuk—Vagrancy," Andrew Detachment, 14 August 1926 (PAA 75.126/852).
83. "Crime Report re. Nick Wispenskie—Vagrancy," Andrew Detachment, 30 July 1926 (PAA 75.126/1004).
84. "Crime Report re. John Frunchak—Vagrancy," Andrew Detachment, 8 February 1928 (PAA 75.126/873); see also, for example, PAA 75.126/953.
85. On handguns specifically see, for example, PAA 72.26/4317 and PAA 75.126/953.
86. Young, *Ukrainian Canadians*, 269. The following represent a random sampling of the hell-raising activities of the Bulls in east-central Alberta: PAA 72.26/3799c, PAA 72.26/8117, PAA 72.370/14, PAA 83.1/3770 (middle series), PAA 83.1/4475 (middle series), PAA 83.1/6490 (middle series).
87. PAA 72.26/1089.
88. APP "A" *Division Annual Report 1931*, 12 (PAA 72.370/14).
89. *Ibid.*, 13.
90. See Corbet, "Alberta Provincial Police Post," 104-6.
91. PAA 72.26/1088.
92. *Ibid.*
93. Young, *Ukrainian Canadians*, 268; also, for example, PAA 83.1/3770 (middle series).
94. Himka, *Galician Villagers*, 82.
95. Dobrowolski, "Peasant Traditional Culture," 274.
96. *Ibid.*
97. John Lehr, "Kinship and Society in the Ukrainian Pioneer Settlement of the West," *Canadian Geographer* 29, no. 3 (Fall 1985): 207-19; and Radomir Bilash, "The Colonial Development of East Central Alberta and its Effect on Ukrainian Settlement to 1930" (M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1983), 111-13.
98. Thomas McNutt cited in Hawkes, *Story of Saskatchewan and Its People*, 731-2; Lehr, "Kinship and Society in the Ukrainian Pioneer Settlement of the Canadian West," 214-16; and MacGregor, *Vilni Zemli*, 240.
99. J.M. Lazarenko, *A Voice from the Wilderness* (Edmonton 1987), 37.
100. See, for example, PAA 72.26/6374-6376.
101. Interview (Robinson) with Buchanan, 17 October 1989. Buchanan's observation is substantiated by numerous cases, including PAA 83.1/2172 (old series) and PAA 72.26/6720.
102. See, for example, PAA 75.126/957; and Young, *Ukrainian Canadians*, 276.
103. Hohol, "Grekul House," 175-6; see also Z. Kuzela, "Folk Customs and Rites Related to Family Life," in Volodymyr Kubijovyč, ed., *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia*, vol. 1 (Toronto 1963), 337.

104. Zonia Lazarowich, "A Lifetime of Change: Reminiscences of Mary Kruk," in Bohdan Shulakevych, ed., *Tini mynuloho/Shadows of the Past* (Edmonton 1986), 109. See also Nahachewsky, "First Existence Folk Dance Forms," 41-53; and Young, *Ukrainian Canadians*, 279.
105. Marvin E. Wolfgang and Franco Ferracuti, *The Subculture of Violence: Towards an Integrated Theory in Criminology* (London 1967), especially 154-61, 188-9, 258-60, 267, 298, 305-6, 314.
106. *Ibid.*, 159, 314.
107. Woodsworth, "Foreign Immigrants and Temperance," 8.
108. Janey Canuck [Emily Murphy], "Communing with Ruthenians," *Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature* 40 (March 1913): 405-6.
109. Connor, *The Foreigner*, 216, 218.
110. W.O. Mitchell, "Going to a Fire," in *According to Jake and the Kid: A Collection of New Stories* (Toronto 1989), 182.



# CIUS PRESS

## **The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after WW II**

*Edited by Wsevolod W. Isajiw,  
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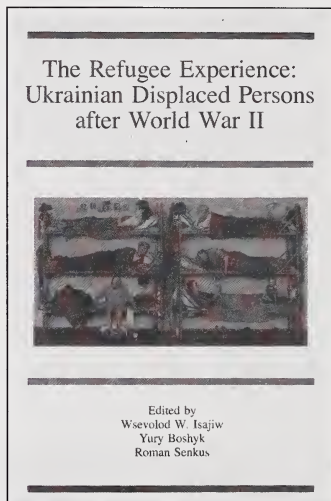
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517 pp.

ISBN 0-920862-85-3

Cloth \$29.95 (plus \$2.10 GST and \$3.00 shipping and handling)

Available from CIUS Press, 352 Athabasca Hall, University of Alberta,  
Edmonton, AB, Canada T6G 2E8





# Ukrainian Volunteers from Canada in the International Brigades, Spain, 1936-39: A Profile

*Myron Momryk*

The Spanish Civil War of 1936-39, between the Loyalists or supporters of the Popular Front Republican Government and the insurgent forces led by General Francisco Franco, became in its day an international *cause célèbre*. It was perceived then, and subsequently, as a political and intellectual conflict of epic proportions between the forces of democracy and fascism, progress and reaction, good and evil.<sup>1</sup> One of the legacies of this war is the role played by the International Brigades, composed largely of volunteers from Europe and North America, in defending the Popular Front Republican Government. There were over sixteen hundred volunteers from Canada, including a significant number of Ukrainian Canadians who fought in the ranks of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion and in several other units. Canadian participation in the International Brigades has attracted only limited attention from Canadian historians, and the specific Ukrainian Canadian story remains virtually unknown.<sup>2</sup>

Victor Howard (Hoar) in his study, *The Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion: The Canadian Contingent in the Spanish Civil War*, noted that "the Ukrainian population in Canada produced a noteworthy group of volunteers." Speculating on the reasons why so many individuals from Canadian ethnocultural groups volunteered to fight in Spain, he enquired: "Did a man go to Spain perhaps out of some loyalty to his environment or did he go because he had an investment in the future of Canada? The answer is not readily forthcoming quite obviously."<sup>3</sup> This paper suggests that the answer to Howard's question—the motivations behind Canada's Ukrainian volunteers—is found in the political and immigration history of Ukrainian Canadians during the 1920s and 1930s.

## *The War and Canada*

The Spanish Civil War began with the revolt of the military leadership in Spanish Morocco on 18 July 1936. The officers, supported by the traditional establishment of landowners, monarchists, and the Roman Catholic hierarchy, resented the growing socialist and anti-clerical tendencies of the Popular Front Republican Government. Most of the army joined the officers and their supporters in revolt, leaving the Republican Government without any significant armed forces.

The insurgents were able to obtain military aid from sympathetic foreign states, notably Nazi Germany and fascist Italy, in the form of military aircraft from the former and fifty thousand "volunteers" from the latter. The Republican Government, or more specifically the various political parties and movements supporting it, began to organize militias from among followers to defend the government. These militias included the first foreign volunteers—visitors, tourists, and students in Spain—and German and French units were soon established. Believing that a large international expedition would generate widespread headlines and support for the Republican cause, the Communist Party of Spain began to organize the foreign volunteers and, through the Communist International in Moscow, a worldwide recruiting network was created.<sup>4</sup> In Canada, reports on the Spanish Civil War and the involvement of international volunteers appeared in almost every issue of the pro-communist newspapers, the *Daily Clarion* and the Ukrainian-language *Narodna hazeta*. The first large group of international volunteers arrived in Spain on 16 October 1936. During the winter of 1936-37, the volunteers were organized into military units according to language groups and national origin. One of the first battles in which the International Brigades played a significant role was the defence of Madrid.<sup>5</sup>

By April 1937 there were sufficient Canadian volunteers in the American units for them to submit a formal petition to the headquarters of the International Brigades asking to form their own unit. The name selected was Mackenzie-Papineau, in recognition of the leaders of the 1837 Rebellions in Upper and Lower Canada. By the time the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion of the 15th International Brigade was officially organized on 1 July 1937, over five hundred Canadians had volunteered for Spain. Although the Battalion was a Canadian unit, American volunteers comprised the great majority of its members. Among the Canadian volunteers were significant numbers of Finns and Ukrainians. The latter were formed in their own section, called 'Kryvonos'<sup>6</sup> after a legendary Cossack leader of the 1640s, allegedly of Scottish descent. Ukrainian Canadians also served in the medical corps, armour and artillery units,

and other American and East European units, in particular the Taras Shevchenko Company of the Palafox Battalion in the 13th Dombrowski International Brigade.<sup>7</sup>

On 20 May 1937 an association called the Friends of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion was established in Canada to support the volunteers in Spain. Most Canadian cities also had Spanish Aid Committees which corresponded with the volunteers overseas, sent telegrams to Ottawa in an attempt to influence Canadian government policy towards Spain, organized speaking tours and Spanish Aid Weeks, raised funds for ambulances, collected parcels, and produced articles for publication in the popular press. Members of the pro-communist Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA) also wrote letters to Canadian politicians in support of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion and the Spanish Republican cause.<sup>8</sup>

The Canadian federal government followed Britain's policy of non-intervention in the Spanish conflict. Reacting to the volunteer movement in Canada, Ottawa indicated in January 1937 that the Imperial Foreign Enlistment Act would be revised to control enlistment in Canada for military service in foreign countries. Recruiting for Spain, which was largely a low-profile enterprise, went underground. In western Canada, the suspicion of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) became aroused by the surprisingly large number of young men who applied for passports for travel to Europe.<sup>9</sup> Applications for passports were delayed until investigations into the motives of the applicants could be completed. However, individuals who were not British subjects could apply at the consulates of their countries of origin for visas simply to return to Europe without any investigation.<sup>10</sup> In April, a new Foreign Enlistment Act was adopted which made it a criminal offense for any Canadian to enlist in the armed forces of any foreign state at war with any friendly state. On 31 July 1937 the act was applied to the enlistment by Canadians on any side in Spain.<sup>11</sup>

Since it was illegal to volunteer for Spain, few if any records were maintained, individuals frequently disguised their identity under aliases, and recruitment in Canada was done in relative secrecy. Complicating further the task of reconstructing the history of Canadian involvement in the war, all records of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion disappeared with the defeat of the Republican Government.<sup>12</sup> As a result, there are few sources from which to create a profile of the Canadians in Spain, and the biographical information on Ukrainian Canadian volunteers is even more sparse.

Nevertheless, enough data exists—in published histories, memoirs and autobiographies, obituaries, archival collections of Spanish Civil War

veterans' associations, and lists of volunteers—to draw at least some tentative conclusions about the Ukrainian volunteers from Canada in the International Brigades, Spanish militia, and medical units.<sup>13</sup> At present 1,709 volunteers from Canada have been identified. Among them are 309 individuals with Ukrainian-sounding surnames, although only 225 of that number can be said with virtual certainty to be of Ukrainian origin. According to some estimates, as many as 360 Ukrainian Canadian volunteers fought in the International Brigades.<sup>14</sup> The available biographical data differs for each volunteer and nothing in fact is known about many of them except their names and that they served in Spain. Nevertheless, certain common patterns and experiences emerge.

Of the 125 Ukrainian volunteers for whom a birthplace is given, 22 were born in Canada and 103 in eastern Europe. Additional details on 57 of those in the immigrant group show that only three had come to Canada prior to 1914. Nine arrived in the years 1921-26, while 29 arrived in 1927-28 and 12 in 1929-30 immediately before the onset of the Depression. On the basis of 183 individuals, including 20 born in Canada and 103 overseas, the average age of the Ukrainian volunteers in 1938 was 33.3, with the foreign-born group at 35.0 years noticeably older than its Canadian-born counterpart at 24.9 years (see Table 1). Prior to their

**TABLE 1**  
**AGE COHORTS FOR UKRAINIAN VOLUNTEERS FROM**  
**CANADA IN THE INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES, 1938**

Age Groups	Number
15-20	1
21-25	24
26-30	29
31-35	62
36-40	50
41-45	11
46-50	6
TOTAL	183

departure for Spain, fewer than one-third of the men lived in the traditional areas of Ukrainian settlement in the prairie provinces, and those who did came not from the rural bloc settlements but from the region's cities and mining towns. The large industrial centres and resource frontiers of Ontario, Quebec, and British Columbia had been the last address of the great majority (see Table 2). The 23 occupational backgrounds that can be identified reinforce the image of an unskilled or

TABLE 2  
LAST ADDRESS BEFORE DEPARTURE FOR 195 UKRAINIAN VOLUNTEERS  
FROM CANADA

## LAST ADDRESS BEFORE DEPARTURE FOR 195 UKRAINIAN VOLUNTEERS FROM CANADA

The departure dates for 76 Ukrainian volunteers indicate that 74 left for Spain in 1937, the large majority during the spring and summer months. The largest monthly totals came in April and July, suggesting that the new Foreign Enlistment Act may have encouraged some volunteers to leave before the implementation dates. There were 26 departures from August through December 1937. Approximately one-half of the volunteers joined the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion; the remainder were assigned to a number of other units (see Table 3). Of the 211 men



whose fate is known, 139 returned to Canada after their service, including 11 who had been taken prisoner; 49 were killed in action, and 12 were declared missing in Spain.

**TABLE 3**  
**UNITS SERVED BY 121 UKRAINIAN VOLUNTEERS FROM**  
**CANADA**

Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion	57
13th Brigade (Dombrowski)	4
Dimitrov Battalion	5
Taras Shevchenko Company	32
15th Brigade (Abraham Lincoln)	1
Abraham Lincoln Battalion	8
Masaryk Battalion	6
Artillery	5
Medical	2
Armour	1
	121

Based on the available information, the collective biographies of those Ukrainians who departed from Canada for Spain suggest that the typical volunteer was born between 1895 and 1910 in what was then Western Ukraine.<sup>15</sup> Most likely, his family was poor, owning little or no land; he had been obliged to work from early childhood to help support the household; and his formal education had been limited or interrupted by the outbreak of war in 1914. Chances were good that he had some military experience in the Austro-Hungarian army (before 1918), the Ukrainian national armies (1918-22) and, after the partition of Western Ukraine in the early 1920s, the armies of Poland, Romania, or Czechoslovakia. His economic prospects would not have improved with the return of peace, making him receptive to offers of employment from agents working for Canadian railway companies who informed or misinformed him about opportunities in Canada for Ukrainian immigrants prepared to accept employment as farm labourers. Paid a commission for every eligible immigrant they successfully directed to the Canadian prairies, some agents made elaborate promises. They told prospective immigrants that they could have any job they wanted immediately upon landing, that if they wished to farm they could claim farms of 160 acres, and that they should not bring too much personal baggage because all their needs would be met on arrival.<sup>16</sup>

Once having decided to leave his homeland, the typical Ukrainian

volunteer arrived in Canada between 1926 and 1930. He worked in various agricultural and manual occupations in the three prairie provinces—often on farms established by the first wave of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada. When the Depression threw the Canadian economy into chaos, arousing widespread nativist sentiments in the process, this man had to compete for what little work was available with other immigrant workers and native-born Canadians without knowledge of English or the popular culture, and without a skilled trade or naturalized status. He sought assistance and companionship from others in the same predicament, and together they travelled across Canada, often riding the rails in search of work. Many such men went to the mining towns and larger cities of central Canada where they believed opportunities were better for casual labour. Some joined the 170,000 single men in the relief camps the federal government established for the unemployed, or took part in the On-to-Ottawa Trek that led to confrontations with police and a number of casualties.

It was not surprising that the typical Ukrainian volunteer and his companions were politically radicalized by their experiences and gravitated to Ukrainian left-wing organizations. They became active in the ULFTA, the Workers Benevolent Association (WBA), and the Association to Aid the Liberation Movement in Western Ukraine. Individual Ukrainian immigrants also joined Russian or Polish left-wing organizations. In many cases, it was only a question of time before they joined the Communist Party of Canada (CPC). Throughout the 1930s, these left-wing ethnocultural associations allied with the CPC made a concerted effort to organize unemployed workers, especially recent immigrants. Of the 39 Ukrainian volunteers whose political affiliations are known, 22 belonged to the Young Communist League and the CPC, nine belonged to the Federation of Russian Canadians and the Maxim Gorki Club, and eight were members of the ULFTA and the WBA. A large number of the Ukrainian volunteers held memberships in two or more left-wing organizations.<sup>17</sup> Figures vary but it has been estimated that 25 per cent of all Canadian volunteers—and from 40 to 80 per cent of Americans in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—were members of the Communist Party.<sup>18</sup>

The movement to recruit volunteers for Spain was administered by the CPC, which initiated a search for dedicated Party members with previous military experience. As far as the majority of Ukrainian volunteers were concerned, the most recent military experience was during the years 1914-26. Among the Canadian-born volunteers, some did have limited military training in the Canadian militia. No doubt the investigations by the RCMP into passport applications from would-be Canadian volunteers also encouraged a preference in recruiting circles for un-

naturalized immigrants who could leave for Spain almost immediately. These considerations, together with the economic vulnerability of recent immigrants, explain to a large extent why Ukrainian volunteers were overwhelmingly foreign born, and why the immigrants were, on the average, some five years older than their Canadian-born counterparts. Given the slim possibility of new immigrants entering Canada in the 1930s, it was not possible to obtain more recent or younger Ukrainian immigrants with army or other training. By closing its doors to further immigration, the Depression also ensured that the majority of Ukrainian volunteers with military experience would at best have performed their service almost ten years prior to 1937 and be well past their prime as recruits. Also, there was an attempt to recruit volunteers who were ideologically prepared, which required some record of service in the CPC and affiliated organizations.<sup>19</sup>

The role of Ukrainian Canadian community politics, and of Ukrainian organizations as a reflection of those politics, in influencing the decision of individual Ukrainians to volunteer for Spain must also be considered. The roots of Ukrainian community politics lie in the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. The various revolutionary forces led by the Bolsheviks emerged victorious, and by the early 1920s Eastern Ukraine had become part of the Soviet Union. Western Ukraine fell under the administration of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Romania. The establishment of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Ukrainian state polarized Ukrainian Canadian life in the 1920s and 1930s between supporters and opponents of the new Soviet regime. The Ukrainization policies of the communist government in Soviet Ukraine, coupled with difficult socioeconomic conditions in Canada, encouraged the Ukrainian left-wing movement to extend its organizations across Canada. The ULFTA and the WBA established in 1922 were among the first nation-wide organizations in the Ukrainian Canadian community. However, these left-wing bodies increasingly came under attack from Ukrainian nationalist rivals, with reports of famine in Soviet Ukraine in 1933, forced collectivization, mass political purges, the destruction of churches, and the disappearance of cultural and intellectual figures, including many who had been early supporters of a socialist Ukraine.

To attract recent immigrants, particularly veterans of Ukraine's liberation struggles, and to prevent their falling under the influence of rival nationalist organizations, the pro-Soviet groups formed the Association to Aid the Liberation Movement in Western Ukraine in 1931.<sup>20</sup> Its first national conference was held at the Ukrainian labour temple in Winnipeg on 21 July 1931. Seventy registered delegates representing 48 branches with about 3,025 members attended. A board of nine directors, with known communists, was elected, including Peter Arsen (Krawchuk) who

had recently arrived in Canada from Western Ukraine where he had been active in the communist underground.<sup>21</sup>

The Association to Aid the Liberation Movement in Western Ukraine soon established contacts with communist organizations in Western Ukraine and with the International Organization to Aid Revolutionaries. By July 1932 it boasted 78 branches and 9 groups and a total of 6,675 members. The latter included 3,588 men who had arrived in Canada since 1920; there were also 1,809 members who had not previously belonged to any association, and 525 who had formerly belonged to church or nationalist organizations. The Association continued to hold annual conventions and recruit new members, while the Ukrainian left-wing movement in general became involved with Spain. *Narodna hazeta*, for example, included regular reports on the situation in Spain and the arrival of Ukrainian volunteers from Europe and North America.<sup>22</sup> On 19 July 1937, Dr Norman Bethune spoke at a mass meeting in Winnipeg sponsored by the Association to Aid the Liberation Movement in Western Ukraine and related organizations. By this time the Spanish Civil War was already a year old. Bethune himself had just returned from Spain where he headed a Canadian medical unit, and was travelling across Canada speaking on the need to assist the Republican side. Both the formal Ukrainian left-wing organizations and informal networks were utilized for recruiting purposes, and these circles provided a substantial share of volunteers from Canada. According to Peter Krawchuk, over 200 members of the Association to Aid the Liberation Movement in Western Ukraine volunteered for Spain.<sup>23</sup>

### *Ukrainian Canadian Volunteers in Spain*

Regardless of their ethnocultural origin, potential recruits were sent to Toronto where they were interviewed by the Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, which, among other things, attempted to exclude suspected RCMP agents and Trotskyites. The men were given tickets, received a physical examination from a doctor, and had to obtain travel documents.<sup>24</sup> If Ukrainian volunteers were unnaturalized immigrants, they went to the Polish, Romanian, or Czechoslovakian consulates, allegedly to return home. This explains why the names of many Ukrainians in Spain appear in the language of the consulate of citizenship and not in their Ukrainian form. Ukrainian volunteers were also listed in the local records of the Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy as Polish, Romanian, or Czechoslovakian. The Canadian law against foreign enlistment affected both the need for secrecy and the time of departure. Many of the volunteers from Canada were sent by bus to New York City for embarkation for Europe. Individual volunteers often crossed the border at Detroit to

make their way to New York City; upon arriving they reported directly to the Ukrainian Workers Club to await further instructions.<sup>25</sup> In other cases, men from Canada sailed from Montreal and Quebec City to avoid overcrowding the New York City facilities. Once the Canadians landed in Le Havre, France, they made their way to Paris. Buses then took them south, and they illegally crossed the Pyrenées on foot under cover of darkness, led by guides.

On the other side, the volunteers were met by representatives of the International Brigades, taken to Barcelona, and assigned to their units. If they spoke English, the volunteers were assigned to an English-language unit such as the Abraham Lincoln Brigade or the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion. Otherwise they were assigned to their language of origin units—in the Ukrainian case, the Taras Shevchenko Company, the first company in the Palafox Battalion of the Dombrowski Brigade. They trained in Casa Banes, a small village near Barcelona. Since most of the volunteers were expected to have some military experience, training was short.

As the war progressed, the men shared the fate of their respective units. An unspecified number of volunteers returned to Canada during 1938 due to wounds<sup>26</sup> or “of their own accord.” With the situation growing increasingly chaotic in the closing stages of the war, many individuals were separated from their units; others deserted or simply disappeared. An unknown number remained as prisoners of the Franco forces after the war was over.<sup>27</sup> Those who crossed the Pyrenées, as Republican Spanish refugees did, were confined in internment camps in Gurs in southern France and awaited repatriation.<sup>28</sup> In this manner, many Canadian volunteers who had served in other units joined men from the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion, and they became collectively known as the “Mac-Paps.”

All the Canadian volunteers were interviewed by Canadian immigration officials and placed into one of three categories: Canadian citizens by birth, Canadian citizens either born in Britain or naturalized in Canada, and aliens (those who claimed to have been legally landed and resided in Canada for five years or more). The volunteers with Canadian birth certificates and naturalization papers were readily readmitted to Canada. Those who were aliens had to prove that they had resided in Canada for at least five years. A few Ukrainian volunteers had difficulty proving their cases and were refused re-entry until other veterans protested.<sup>29</sup> The cases of two Ukrainian volunteers were complicated because they had married Spanish women.

Most of the Canadian volunteers returned to Canada through England, to be greeted with a large parade on 5 February 1939 at the Toronto



railway station. Individual volunteers made their way home through the United States. The veterans then dispersed across Canada to their own communities and attempted to re-establish their lives. Some of the Ukrainians who had been prisoners returned later, in April 1939.<sup>30</sup> In a few cases Ukrainian veterans travelled to different Ukrainian communities, giving talks on their experiences in Spain. Many remained active in the Ukrainian left-wing organizations; others disappeared from sight.<sup>31</sup>

A few Canadian veterans claimed that they attempted to enrol in the Canadian armed forces during the Second World War but were rejected because of their service in Spain. At least 12 veterans did serve in the Canadian military, most signing up after June 1941. One of these volunteers was killed in action in Europe.

An association of all Canadian Spanish Civil War veterans was formed in September 1938,<sup>32</sup> with Ukrainian Canadian, William Kardash, as the first president. Over the years the group held regular meetings and reunions. One of its main objectives was to gain official recognition from the Canadian government. During the 1950s and early 1960s, six veterans returned to Ukraine. After the death of Francisco Franco and the democratization of the Spanish government, a group of Canadian veterans organized a tour to Spain in August-September 1979 to revisit their old battlegrounds. During this tour a Ukrainian Canadian veteran fell ill and passed away. He was buried in Spain.<sup>33</sup>

## *Conclusion*

According to this study, Ukrainian Canadians volunteered for the International Brigades largely because of their experiences as recent immigrants and political radicalization during the Depression of the early 1930s. Their involvement in the Ukrainian Canadian left-wing movement depended on the existence of a number of mass organizations that eagerly sought their membership and participation. Although the men had joined these associations for social and political reasons, the left-wing movement's formal and informal networks provided a motivated and organized body of ready recruits when volunteers were sought for Spain. During and after the war, Ukrainian Canadian pro-communist organizations gave both volunteers and returned veterans encouragement and support. The individuals who remained active in the Ukrainian Canadian left were held in high esteem and respected throughout their lives as veterans of the International Brigades and representatives of the epic ideological struggles of the 1930s.

These veterans represented a cross-section of the hundreds of thousands of Canadians and recent immigrants who felt the full impact of the Depression in the 1930s. The friendships which were forged and the

commitments that were made during these years—and especially in the International Brigades—endured for decades, providing a core of dedicated members and leaders for the Ukrainian Canadian left-wing movement.

## Notes

1. The titles alone of some of the more popular studies indicate the legacy of this war: Stanley Weintraub, *The Last Great Cause: The Intellectuals and the Spanish Civil War* (New York 1968); Peter Wyden, *The Passionate War: The Narrative History of the Spanish Civil War, 1936-39* (New York 1983); and Daniel S. Davis, *Spain's Civil War: The Last Great Cause* (New York 1975).
2. There are two full-length studies on the Canadian participation: Victor Howard (Hoar) with Mac Reynolds, *The Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion: The Canadian Contingent in the Spanish Civil War*, 2d ed. (Ottawa 1986); and William C. Beeching, *Canadian Volunteers: Spain 1936-39* (Regina 1989). Beeching was a volunteer and an active member of the CPC. The only detailed account of Ukrainian Canadian participation is Petro Kravchuk, *Za vashu i nashu svobodu* (Toronto 1976).
3. Howard, *The Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion*, 34.
4. It should be mentioned that the Soviet Union did provide some military support to the Republican Government, in the form of men and supplies.
5. Because the International Brigades participated in the defence of Madrid in 1936, the Franco forces believed they were responsible for prolonging the civil war which was ruining Spain; see Peter Kemp, *Mine Were of Trouble* (London 1957), 169.
6. The names of the various units were selected by the political leadership of the International Brigades, primarily for publicity purposes in the press of their countries of origin. In September 1937 the section included about 50 Ukrainian volunteers.
7. For further information on the history of the Taras Shevchenko Company, see F.P. Shevchenko, "Rota im. Tarasa Shevchenka v boiakh proty fashyzmu v Ispanii (1937-38)," *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal* 5, no. 1 (January-February 1961): 101-14; Kravchuk, *Za vashu i nashu svobodu*; I. Ianchuk, "Ukraintsi v natsionalno-revoliutsiini viini v Ispanii," *Ukrainskyi kalendar* 1986 (Warsaw 1986), 186-7; Iaroslav Lialka, "Ukrainski volonteriy v Ispanii do 50-richchia natsionalno-revoliutsiinoi viiny ispanskoho narodu" *Zhovten* no. 12 (506) (December 1986): 86.
8. Letter, Women's Section of the ULFTA, to Ernest Lapointe, August 1938, Ernest Lapointe Papers, MG27 III, vol. 22, file "Spanish Civil War—Canadian Volunteers and the Foreign Enlistment Act, 1936-39," National Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

9. For information on RCMP attempts to monitor the volunteer movement, see James Dobno and Robin Rowland, *Undercover: Cases of the RCMP's Most Secret Operative* (Markham 1991), 228-36.
10. On RCMP actions investigating Canadian applicants for passports to travel to Europe, see *Winnipeg Free Press*, 15 January 1937; *Ottawa Citizen*, 20 February 1937; and *Regina Leader*, 14 January, 1937.
11. For further information on the Foreign Enlistment Act, see Thor Erik Frohn-Nielsen, "Canada's Foreign Enlistment Act: Mackenzie King's Expedient Response to the Spanish Civil War" (M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1982).
12. According to some reports in the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion Collection at the National Archives of Canada, the records of the International Brigades were removed at the end of the Civil War to the Soviet Union.
13. Biographical information was compiled from various published sources and from the following collections at the National Archives of Canada: Tim Buck Papers (MG32 G3), Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion Collection (MG30 E173), Immigration Branch Records (RG76, vol. 429, file 635107), CBC Program Archives (Spanish Civil War), and Oral History Interviews by Mac Reynolds (1965).
14. Peter Krawchuk, *Our Contribution to Victory* (Toronto 1985), 12.
15. This profile is based on the biographical information in Kravchuk, *Za vashu i nashu svobodu*, and obituaries of individual volunteers and veterans in *Narodna hazeta* and *Zhyttia i slovo*.
16. Based on an interview with Steve Sheshko, Ottawa, 24 June 1991. Sheshko arrived in Canada in the late 1920s and travelled across the country in search of work until the early 1940s before settling in Montreal. He was not involved in the Ukrainian Canadian left-wing movement.
17. For the story of one volunteer see Myron Momryk, "For Your Freedom and Ours: Konstantine (Mike) Olynyk, A Ukrainian Volunteer from Canada in the International Brigades," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 20, no. 2 (1989): 124-34.
18. See William Kardash interviewed in the *Winnipeg Sun*, 23 September 1990; and Brock Brower, "The Abraham Lincoln Brigade Revisited," *Esquire* (March 1962): 64-5.
19. According to information in a few autobiographies of volunteers in the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion Collection, members of the CPC required its permission to volunteer for Spain.
20. *Ukrainski robotnychi visty*, 14 March 1931.
21. Petro Kravchuk and Pylyp Lysets, *Zavzhdy z ridnym narodom: Uchast kanadskykh ukrainsiv v borotbi za vyzvolennia Zakhidnoi Ukrainy* (Toronto 1959), 111.
22. See, for example, *Narodna hazeta*, 26 February, 11 March, 12 March, 22 March, 24 March, 1 April 1937.
23. Petro Kravchuk, *Na novii zemli* (Toronto 1958), 266.

24. For information on the recruiting process in Toronto, see the chapter on the Spanish Civil War in Peter Hunter, *Which Side Are You On, Boys: Canadian Life on the Left* (Toronto 1988), 109-12.
25. Cameron Stewart, *Summoned to the External Field: An Inquiry into the Development and the Composition of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939* (Claremont 1971), 235.
26. *Daily Clarion*, 13 and 28 August 1938.
27. For example, in the Miranda de Ebro Concentration Camp in Spain in November 1942, there were 31 Poles, 2 Ukrainians, and 15 Yugoslavs; Carl Geiser, *Prisoners of the Good Fight, The Spanish Civil War 1936-39* (Westport 1986), 258.
28. The debate within the Canadian government regarding the return of the volunteers is discussed in John A. Munro, "Canada and the Civil War in Spain: Repatriation of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion," *External Affairs* 23, no. 2 (February 1971): 52-8.
29. *Daily Clarion*, 6 July 1939; see also Immigration Branch Records, RG76, vol. 429, file 635107, pt. 2.
30. *Daily Clarion*, 28 April 1939.
31. *Narodna hazeta*, 3 and 12 April 1939.
32. *Daily Clarion*, 2 September 1938.
33. *Zhyttia i slovo*, 29 October 1979. See the obituary of George Fiwchuk (1914-79), who was also a veteran of the Canadian armed forces in World War Two.

# Ukrainians and the "Ukrainian Question" As Seen by Poles in Canada during the Second World War

*Anna Reczyńska*

Polish and Ukrainian immigrants to Canada, whether from Austrian Galicia at the end of the nineteenth century or from the Second Polish Republic following the Great War,<sup>1</sup> settled in close proximity to each other on homesteads in the prairie provinces or in the working-class districts of Canadian cities. There they created distinct communities that the Ukrainians tended to dominate by sheer force of numbers. While the two groups brought a history of interaction accompanied by frequently unhappy memories, Anglo-Canadian nativism and the immigrants' own inclination to seek the familiar society of fellow Slavs encouraged even closer contacts at the personal level than the old country had. But similar problems of adjustment and shared residential areas and workplaces in emigration did not automatically erase prejudices and stereotypes imported with the immigrants and often exaggerated under the impact of events at home or new disagreements and conflicts emerging in Canada. The outbreak of war in 1939 intensified nationalist sentiments among both Poles and Ukrainians, as well as tensions that had been escalating since 1918 following the failure of Galician Ukrainians to secure the independence of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic and its absorption by Poland.

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s Polish diplomatic representatives in Canada and the Polish Canadian press showed considerable interest in Ukrainian matters, in Europe naturally but also including the "anti-Polish" activities of Ukrainians and their organizations in Canada. Most of this commentary—sometimes contradictory, sometimes mistaken, always limited in scope—reflected the opinions of a Polish elite. The voice of the ordinary Pole in everyday contact with his Ukrainian



counterparts was not entirely excluded, however, and this voice became even louder in the personal memoirs that commented in retrospect on relations between Ukrainians and Poles at the local level.

Between the wars, and even after the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact effectively wiped Poland from the map, citizens of Poland of Ukrainian extraction were legally entitled to the consular protection of Polish diplomatic missions abroad. Three Polish consulates existed in Canada at this time, in Montreal, Winnipeg, and Ottawa; the latter, the General Consulate, was elevated to a legation in 1942.<sup>2</sup> Practically speaking, communications between Ukrainian immigrants and Polish government representatives in Canada were minimal. In fact, in the opinion of the consulates, the Ukrainian community, committed as it was to the incorporation of Western Ukraine into a future Great Ukraine, regarded any such contacts as treason. For its part, the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs advised that cooperation be restricted to those factions in the Ukrainian Canadian community that accepted the permanence of Poland's borders, and that an appropriate distance be maintained from communist and anti-Polish groups. Yet interest in Ukrainian Canadians remained high. Polish diplomatic missions regularly submitted reports to their superiors on Ukrainian Canadian organizations, their numerous ideological divisions, and their attitudes towards Poland.

These reports devoted considerable attention to the Ukrainian left-wing movement, correctly associating it with both the Communist Party of Canada and the Communist International; according to the consulates, some 60 per cent of all Ukrainians in western Canada were sympathizers.<sup>3</sup> Polish government representatives responded to the communist presence and agitation by distributing a pamphlet, *Ukraina pid chervonym iarmom* (Ukraine under the red yoke), in the Ukrainian community.<sup>4</sup> The consulates also showed substantial interest in Ukrainian nationalist organizations of various hues and in groups associated with the Greek Catholic church. When relations between Poland and Lithuania worsened in 1938, the Polish consul in Winnipeg, Juliusz Szygowski, reported that "the local Ukrainians consider the latest developments in Europe as hopeful for the attainment of independence for Ukraine, and especially in *Novyi shliakh* Ukrainian nationalist organizations call for a national alert. The Ukrainian Youth Federation has begun to organize...a Ukrainian flying school and is presently gathering funds for it."<sup>5</sup> In 1938-9 Polish diplomats attributed internal discord among Ukrainian Canadian nationalists to their organizations' diverging responses to Hitler's eastern policies and to events in Transcarpathia and Poland. Prior to the German invasion of Poland, Szygowski concluded that "the Ukrainian émigré community is spiritually broken, it has lost faith in its pro-German

leaders and has found itself at a crossroads."<sup>6</sup>

During the war individuals like the Polish journalist, Leon Garczyński, who prepared reports and extracts for the diplomatic mission, as well as the consulates directly scrutinized the Ukrainian-language press for its attitudes towards Poles, Poland, the Polish government, and other Polish issues. Shortly after hostilities began, for example, Szygowski charged that *Novyi shliakh*, official organ of the most nationalistic of all Ukrainian Canadian organizations, the Ukrainian National Federation (UNF), propagated false information in contending that the Poles were "forcing Ukrainians with cannons and bayonets to defend Poland." He also noted the undisguised joy with which the pro-communist press, specifically *Narodna hazeta*, official organ of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA), had greeted the Soviet invasion of Poland.<sup>7</sup>

In December 1939 Szygowski remarked that *Novyi shliakh's* anti-Polish stance had not moderated. "In spite of the persecution experienced by Ukrainians at the hands of the Bolsheviks," he wrote, there had been "no apparent turn towards Poland or any kind of cooperation." Szygowski referred to "short-sighted Ukrainians, capable only of throwing insults at the Polish nation...even openly inciting crime."<sup>8</sup> In the consul's opinion the war also aggravated, or perhaps simply publicized, tensions between Ukrainian communists and nationalists in Canada as the two camps "do not skimp on pen and ink in order to make fools of each other and discredit each other in the eyes of the Ukrainian community." Each faction, he said, "accuses the other of treason and servility to foreign powers. The communists declare that Ukrainians supporting the UNF served Hitler and, more importantly, stole money supposedly collected for Carpathian Ukraine. UNF supporters, not to be outdone, call communist Ukrainians traitors of the Ukrainian national cause, Stalin's hirelings, bandits helping to oppress the Ukrainian nation."<sup>9</sup> The consul also felt that *Novyi shliakh* refrained from criticizing Hitler and Germany while attempting to prove to its readers that England supported the Ukrainian cause. Ukrainian nationalists in Canada, he concluded, were in a difficult position because "in spite of their loud propaganda and delusion of the masses, they do not in fact know whom to cooperate with and what to do in the future." Nor did the communist *Narodna hazeta* escape Szygowski's critical pen, both for its "idolatrourous veneration of Soviet Russia" and for its "treachery and hypocrisy as regards the Polish cause." The least aggressive voice in the Ukrainian Canadian community, in the consul's opinion, was *Ukrainskyi holos*, organ of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (USRL) with its origins in the pre-1914 pioneer immigration, although the newspaper avoided even the suspicion of being pro-Polish.<sup>10</sup> The "older intelligentsia, permanently settled in Canada,"

Szygowski wrote in 1941, undoubtedly referring to those around the USRL, was pro-British, while the "young intelligentsia," presumably interwar immigrants, and the Greek Catholic clergy secretly sympathized with Germany.<sup>11</sup>

That Ukrainian Canadian nationalists proved able temporarily to bury their differences and come together in an umbrella organization, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC), in 1940 surprised Szygowski.<sup>12</sup> And although the new body was not expected to be successful, its activities were henceforth carefully watched. Polish diplomats also adopted a negative attitude towards the efforts of Ukrainian Vladimir J. Kaye-Kysilewsky on behalf of the Nationalities Branch of the Department of War Services to unite major non-British and non-French ethnic organizations behind the Canadian war effort on the home front. When the Polish Canadian Congress formed in 1944, it was for completely different reasons. In opposing Kaye-Kysilewsky's idea, perhaps the consulates feared for their own influence in the Polish community if a new central Polish ethnic organization became active on the Canadian political scene. Moreover, any such organization would have been under Ukrainian supervision due to Kaye-Kysilewsky's position as the government's liaison officer with Canada's ethnocultural communities. Polish wartime consular reports admitted that Ukrainians, who boasted one Member of Parliament and several provincial legislators, wielded more influence than the Poles as a political pressure group; at the local level, for example, it was believed that they had used their electoral power to defeat the mayor of Winnipeg.<sup>13</sup>

A year into the war, and undoubtedly in response to instructions from headquarters, consular reports began to concentrate on the possibilities of a Polish-Ukrainian rapprochement. Not everyone favoured such a step, however. One opponent of the idea quoted a Member of Parliament elected with the help of Ukrainian votes, who declared that Ukrainians and Poles in Canada were separated not simply by "different viewpoints, or even antagonism, but by hatred, particularly strong in urban centres."<sup>14</sup>

In their scrutiny of the Ukrainian Canadian community—in an attempt to measure its strength, influence, and ideological orientations—Polish diplomats were politically motivated. As such, their often sharp judgments reflected the interests and policies of the Polish state. The consuls had access to numerous sources of information, including Ukrainian Canadians' own publications, but they were essentially outside observers who lacked personal contacts with the individuals and organizations they described and assessed. The incomplete nature of the available consular reports, and the tendency of those that do exist to focus on

Polish issues *per se*, has inevitably resulted in a fragmentary picture of official Polish opinion concerning the wartime Ukrainian community in Canada. The general tone of the reports leaves the distinct impression that tremendous distance and mutual dislike separated Ukrainians and the official representatives of Poland in Canada.

The Polish Canadian press provides a far richer source for documenting Polish opinion about Ukrainians in Canada. Not only did it exhibit greater interest in the Ukrainian community than the Polish consulates but it also held more broad-minded attitudes. At the same time, greater broad-mindedness never meant that Polish-Ukrainian conflicts were downplayed. The "Ukrainian problem" received most frequent discussion in the newspapers *Związkowiec* and *Czas*, published in Toronto and Winnipeg respectively. The editorial office of *Czas*, which boasted a largely prairie readership, was fully aware of the influence of the ethnic press on Polish-Ukrainian relations in Canada. "Both our media," a 1940 editorial stated, "are to a great extent responsible for the moods of the Polish and Ukrainian communities and for creating a base on which to ground future understanding." As a first symbolic step towards this understanding and mutual respect, the author proposed that the two groups start using a capital "U" and a capital "P" when writing about each other.<sup>15</sup> Despite this particular declaration and the sentiments behind it, not everything in the Polish press on the subject of the Ukrainian community in Canada could be regarded as helpful in building bridges. But on the whole, and putting the sharp tone of some readers' letters and certain articles aside, the language chosen was fairly careful.

Discussion in the press focused mainly on European issues and on past and present Polish-Ukrainian conflict in Galicia or other Ukrainian parts of eastern Poland. In general, attempts were made to prove that the position of Ukrainians in contemporary Poland was not as bad as Ukrainian circles in Canada liked to paint. As a consequence, articles and editorials both described the anti-Polish behaviour of Ukrainian nationalists, in Canada and overseas, and emphasized the freedom enjoyed by the Ukrainian minority in Poland. Reprints of material from Polish periodicals in the United States and Great Britain stressed cooperation not conflict between the two peoples. Attempts were also made to separate the attitudes of Ukrainian nationalist leaders and clergy from those of the masses. One letter to the editor even contended that the pacification of Ukrainian areas of Poland during the early 1930s was a mistake.<sup>16</sup>

Antagonism towards the Ukrainians, reflected in the columns of both *Czas* and *Związkowiec* between 1940 and 1943, was influenced by reports from Europe of Ukrainian cooperation with the Germans and of Ukrainians working for the Nazis. The Ukrainian Canadian press, for its



part, undertook to cast doubt on the reliability of Polish information. *Kanadiyskyi farmer*, for example, argued that Ukrainian-German cooperation was impossible because of good German-Soviet relations, a statement that drew jeers from *Czas* for the naivete of both the evidence and its authors.<sup>17</sup> Pro-German attitudes and sympathies were also attributed to selected Ukrainian organizations in Canada. Reporting on a pan-Slavic congress in Hamilton in 1942, held under rejuvenated communist auspices, *Związkowiec* contended that Ukrainian nationalists from Prosvita had not participated because they "consider the gangster Hitler the creator of a Great Ukraine and do not want to cooperate."<sup>18</sup> When communist and fascist organizations active in Canada were outlawed in the early stages of the war, the newspaper commented that as far as Ukrainian organizations were concerned, "there remain only legal organizations of a national-clerical hue, which on the one hand support democracy but on the other sympathize with Hitler and his German 'Samostiina Ukraina.'"<sup>19</sup>

Gradually, however, the Polish press began also to present evidence of the manipulative handling of the Ukrainian issue by Hitler and warn against Soviet annexation. *Czas* even regarded the USRL's support of Ukrainian independence positively, saying that "they had the courage to approach the problem of Ukrainian statehood in a very appropriate and modern manner."<sup>20</sup> But *Czas* remained critical of Ukrainians' attempt at internal compromise and cooperation as embodied in the UCC. The newspaper recognized the new body's importance and the enormity of the task it faced but never stopped trying to demonstrate that it was likely to fail. Summing up over two years of activity by this "representation of local nationalist Ukrainian organizations" in early summer 1943, *Czas* also saw it as an enemy of Poland. The UCC, it declared, "commenced activities with unending declarations of the loyalty of Ukrainians to Canada" but "later began to send almost exclusively anti-Polish messages"—opposing, for example, Ukrainian federation with Poland, the coming of General Sikorski to America, and eastern Polish frontiers. The same article also claimed that the forthcoming UCC congress, the first of its kind, was essential to Ukrainians "to establish a clear political plan for the Ukrainian émigré community" but was not expected to be "able to present the Polish-Ukrainian problem appropriately, as we do not see either the organization or the people who would dare to do this."<sup>21</sup>

Markedly less reserved in its opinions concerning the UCC congress, *Związkowiec* emphasized more strongly shared Polish and Ukrainian interests arising from a common fate. Perhaps this reflected nothing more than the geographical distance separating Toronto, where the newspaper was published, from the centre of Ukrainian Canadian organizational life



in Winnipeg, the home of *Czas*—and the possibility that tensions between Polish and Ukrainian communities were weaker in Ontario than in Manitoba, where Ukrainians clearly outnumbered the Poles. The deciding factor may also have been the views of the small editorial circles surrounding the two newspapers or, in the case of *Związkowiec*, the influence in Toronto of T. Brzeziński, the consul in Montreal. Articles and editorials appearing in *Związkowiec* shortly before the opening of the congress were unusually friendly. The newspaper also printed a declaration signed by the three most influential Polish Canadian organizations—the Polish Alliance of Canada, the Federation of Polish Societies in Canada, and the Association of Poles in Canada, an organization whose influence was limited almost exclusively to the prairie provinces. From the Polish perspective, this was a landmark occasion for it marked the only time the three organizations stood together. Stressing the growing common danger facing both Poles and Ukrainians, the declaration expressed hope of cooperation between two free and equal nations in Europe and “in the new Fatherland...Canada...forgetting mutual offenses and mistakes.”<sup>22</sup>

A particularly vigorous advocate of Polish-Ukrainian rapprochement, both in Europe and in Canada, was *Czas*'s editor, Leon Garczyński. His many publications not only portrayed Polish-Ukrainian relations in southeastern Poland objectively, but also critically analyzed Polish government policies towards the country's ethnic minorities and proposed a course of action for both the Polish side and the Ukrainian émigré community. The general thrust of his writings urged cooperation between Polish and Ukrainian groups in Canada. He insisted that history must be remembered, but equally argued that “wanting to change attitudes towards each other, we have to change our manner of using history...we have to look for positive aspects.”<sup>23</sup> According to Garczyński, reaching an understanding between the two peoples in Canada was much easier than reaching an agreement between Ukrainian Canadians and the Polish government.<sup>24</sup>

From 1943 on, successive Soviet victories pushed the question of Poland's eastern borders to the fore, and the Polish Canadian press adopted a more conciliatory attitude towards the Ukrainians. There were also renewed calls for cooperation between Polish and Ukrainian émigré communities and for united efforts in the face of Soviet aggression. Writing in *Czas*, Garczyński, for example, proposed informal talks.<sup>25</sup> The Ukrainian Canadian press acknowledged such friendly Polish gestures but with strong reservations. The Greek Catholic organ, *Ukrainski visty* in Edmonton, suggested that the sudden cordiality of Polish newspapers was the result of instructions from their consulates, a charge predictably

and forcefully denied by Czas.<sup>26</sup> Ukrainians' refusal to engage in discussion provoked the comment that "they move in a history which is already past and of which neither we nor the Ukrainians can be proud...the present and future are now important...and Soviet aggression should unite us."<sup>27</sup>

It is difficult to deny Garczyński's far-sightedness, especially after he warned in 1943 that Allied victory in Europe might not signify the victory of democracy in central Europe, and that people must be prepared for such an unwanted outcome.<sup>28</sup> The Ukrainians, however, waited for an official declaration from the Polish government on the subject of borders. Garczyński's efforts failed to attract wide support in the Polish Canadian community, but their rebuff by the Ukrainian side evoked further criticism. A regular correspondent from Montreal, W.A. Mazurkiewicz, wrote: "I am surprised that Mr Garczyński discusses Ukrainian plans for the Ukrainians with such persistence. The Ukrainian press both here and in America says nothing about cooperation or the possibility of cooperation with us Poles....one shouldn't push where one is not wanted." At any rate, he concluded, "we all know that the Ukrainians themselves have no plan of their own...or their own Ukrainian independence movement."<sup>29</sup> A few months later, citing *Kanadijskyi farmer's* rude dismissal of Garczyński's position, Mazurkiewicz elaborated. "It is clear from this how hard it is to come to an understanding with the Ukrainians even in Canada, let alone in Poland," he stated. "If we begin to talk of cooperation, they only laugh....Today Ukrainians are responsible for their own fate, because they cannot unite and do not know what they want. Some of them serve the Krauts, others serve the Ruskies, while others wait for manna to fall from heaven. This is why I think that Garczyński's articles do not help understanding, because they confirm them in this hope."<sup>30</sup>

Yet there were voices raised in support of cooperation and bilateral discussions, despite the continued lack of a positive Ukrainian response, and voices that separated European conflicts from Polish and Ukrainian problems in Canada.<sup>31</sup> In 1944 Garczyński and others contended that if Polish-Ukrainian cooperation could not be based on sentiment, or the memory of common graves, it should be based on rational thought and the cold calculation of political realities. Several articles promoted the idea of a plebiscite to decide the future of the disputed territories, to give "Western Ukrainians and the Poles living among them the opportunity to express themselves freely."<sup>32</sup>

The Polish Canadian press studied its Ukrainian counterpart carefully, and Czas for one regularly surveyed the contents of Ukrainian Canadian newspapers. Polish editors naturally concentrated on the

"Polish-Ukrainian issue," and although it is difficult to determine the extent to which their comments reflected or shaped opinion in the wider Polish Canadian community, they undoubtedly exerted an impact. Some of the commentary on the Ukrainian press contained a note of scorn for what was regarded as the absence among Ukrainians of both a strong commitment to national independence and a clear desire to play a direct part in the war, when the opposite was so deeply ingrained in the Polish tradition. "From the start of the war," *Czas* explained in late 1940, "the nervousness of the Ukrainian press has grown along with the unfolding of events, expressing itself in two ways: in attacks on Poland and in conflicts between different Ukrainian political groups." Poland's defeat, the article continued, "though met with visible pleasure by most Ukrainians, caused Ukrainian political thought to be even further side-tracked....During a year of war, the Ukrainian ethnic press in America of all political shades has determined to attack Poland in every publication in identical style, freely resorting to invective and sarcastic remarks...seeing wrongs in everything; ideological opaqueness...[and] the absence of orientational unity do not add political seriousness to the independence goals of the Ukrainians."<sup>33</sup>

Obsessed as they were with Ukrainian nationalist organizations and sentiment in Canada, *Czas* and *Związkowiec* virtually ignored the pro-communist sector of the Ukrainian Canadian community. They entered into no dialogue with it, and most references were indirect, emerging from discussions about Polish communists gathered around the newspaper *Kronika Tygodniowa*, published in Toronto. For example, Ukrainian communists were blamed for converting Poles to their movement as well as for supporting Polish communist circles and the weekly *Kronika Tygodniowa*.<sup>34</sup> In general, however, all communist activity among both Ukrainians and Poles was attributed to agents from Moscow and the Comintern. The Catholic *Gazeta Polska* shared this view, although, despite being published in Winnipeg, it touched only marginally on Ukrainian problems.<sup>35</sup>

Particularly interesting, in light of the above, was the reaction of *Związkowiec* to the Canadian government's confiscation and auction of the property of the pro-Soviet, pro-communist ULFTA after it was banned in mid 1940. Claiming to enjoy the support of "the majority of progressive Poles," *Związkowiec* denounced the action as "unjust to all those Canadian citizens of Ukrainian origin, who, for hard-earned dollars, had built their communal halls to keep up their national life in Canada." It held "irresponsible elements in the Ukrainian community who at the outbreak of war allowed themselves to be side-tracked" liable for the unfortunate turn of events. Punishment of the Ukrainian communist leaders was

necessary but so was the return of the confiscated buildings to those who had built them. The newspaper ended by drawing attention to the "absurd scenes enacted at the Ukrainian hall in Toronto, where the previous owners are attempting to remove, by attacks and the use of force, another Ukrainian organization which had bought the building from the government with hard-earned money...a shocking spectacle that will not solve the problem."<sup>36</sup> *Związkowiec's* coverage of the issue implies intimate knowledge of and close contacts with the organized Ukrainian community on the part of its editor. A sympathetic attitude towards the Ukrainian pro-communist movement might also have been encouraged by similar experiences in the Polish pro-communist community connected with *Kronika Tygodniowa*.

The excitement of great and small politics primarily affected the leaders of Polish and Ukrainian organizations and the editors of their respective ideological presses, individuals whose activities were not always helpful in achieving understanding and cooperation. But while influential Poles might have despaired of Polish-Ukrainian collaboration at the elite level, local communities could and did work together. In Winnipeg, for example, where mutual hostility often ran high, a common candidate for city council or the provincial legislature was proposed and endorsed several times. Often such joint actions resulted in disappointment and bitterness, but when a Pole, Piotr Taraska, was elected school trustee in 1940, *Czas* claimed that he owed his victory to the strong support received from Poles and Ukrainians alike, and referred to the emergence of "a silent agreement which showed the political maturity of these groups."<sup>37</sup> Local "pan-Slav" committees, containing both Ukrainians and Poles and often organized by communist activists, were also established. Many of their sympathizers and members were as interested in spending their free time among fellow countrymen as they were in radical politics. Letters and reports sent by readers to the Polish press document Polish-Ukrainian fraternization, socially and politically, away from the larger cities and towns. Poles supported collections for Ukrainian causes, Ukrainians supported similar Polish campaigns, families intermarried, and members of the two groups attended each other's parties, picnics, and other gatherings sponsored by local secular organizations or parishes.<sup>38</sup> It would appear from this that the wider Polish and Ukrainian communities in Canada had acquired a certain distance from divisive European matters, but unfortunately evidence in the Polish weeklies of daily, close, and often friendly contacts between the two peoples is limited.

The Polish press clearly counted Ukrainians among its readers and subscribers, although their numbers are uncertain. Why these individuals

should have selected a Polish-language newspaper when there were several Ukrainian-language papers, representing all shades of political opinion as well as Greek Catholic and Orthodox camps, is hard to say. Perhaps it was a question of availability, of a tradition acquired at a Polish school, or of assimilation or choice within a mixed marriage. Whether taking advantage of an existing situation or attempting to attract a wider audience, the Polish press also deliberately catered to Ukrainian readers. Advertisements, mainly inserted by doctors and lawyers but also by shopkeepers and craftsmen, promised would-be clients and customers service in both Polish and Ukrainian.<sup>39</sup> In at least one case the relationship between Polish newspapers and Ukrainian readers went deeper than professionals or tradespeople seeking business. According to coverage of the story, a Ukrainian named M. Potsiluiko and identified as a regular reader of *Zwiazkowiec* had received a letter, asking for help, from a Polish orphan living in the Polish immigrant colony in Santa Rosa, Mexico. Because they came from the same region in the old country, Potsiluiko sent the girl some money; he also took out a subscription to *Zwiazkowiec* and advertised in its pages for further assistance. Included among the donations that came in was a letter expressing appreciation that the Ukrainian "had taken such a sincere interest in a little girl of a different, though related nationality."<sup>40</sup> Despite this moving incident and what it says about Polish-Ukrainian ties, however, Polish readers were equally anxious to separate themselves from Ukrainian associations and mistaken Ukrainian identity. "Please do not take me for a Ukrainian," Peter Podorowski of Edmonton asked *Czas*. The author of another letter to the same newspaper, regretfully without explaining the circumstances, demanded quite emphatically that he "would like it advertised in the Polish newspaper...that my son is not a Ukrainian as stated in the Ukrainian paper, but Polish."<sup>41</sup> These and similar statements attest to strong Polish feelings of distinctiveness, although not necessarily hostility towards Ukrainians, and the desire to have that distinctiveness recognized publicly.

A final source for examining Polish-Ukrainian relations in Canada, and one which provides the best window into the opinions of ordinary Poles towards their Ukrainian fellow immigrants and New Canadians, falls under the rubric of immigrant memoirs. Obviously not all these memoirs limit their comments to the war years and offer instead a much broader perspective. Although the inherently subjective nature of such works and the fact that they were often the product of memoir competitions must be kept in mind, Polish reminiscences typically contain numerous references to cooperation, mutual aid, and neighbourly relations between Poles and Ukrainians. The frequency with which



Ukrainians are mentioned is also worth noting, reinforcing the contention that Ukrainian-Polish contacts on a daily and personal level were commonplace. Polish memoirs offer a wide spectrum of opinion, often more reflective than consular or press reports and based on both good and bad experiences. Significantly, the good experiences far outnumber the bad.

Polish memoirs reveal that Poles usually encountered Ukrainians on the journey from Europe, that Ukrainians already settled in Canada were often the first persons with whom Polish newcomers could communicate, and that these Ukrainian settlers offered advice, help in finding a first job, and translation services. In many cases a knowledge of Ukrainian acquired in Europe proved most beneficial. "I didn't know any English," wrote one immigrant, "but my knowledge of the Ukrainian language helped me a lot. I didn't have any friends at first, but I met many Ukrainians in the vicinity of Winnipeg and more in Mozart, Saskatchewan."<sup>42</sup> In other instances, imported prejudices towards Ukrainians precluded such contacts, or a potential Ukrainian employer's dislike of Poles motivated new arrivals to pretend that they were Ukrainian or even Russian in order to get jobs.<sup>43</sup> Such tactics were usually recommended by earlier Polish immigrants who had had time to get to know local conditions. One memorist noted how, on his arrival in Alberta, a fellow Pole informed him that no work was available. "There are mainly Ukrainians here and they don't like Poles...say you're a Russian," he recalled his self-appointed mentor saying. The man who eventually hired him, a Canadian-born Ukrainian, was a "good farmer" who had "a new house, a lot of buildings, everything clean...[his] wife was very pleased that he had hired a Russian...he would never have employed a Pole and immediately started violently criticizing the Poles."<sup>44</sup> After some time had passed, the worker's Polish identity was revealed, and a heated argument showed the source of the farmer's prejudice to be his father's declaration, long remembered, that "Poles are bad people." The father, the memoirist explained, would have had little actual contact with Poles coming as he did from Bessarabia, and "had just been repeating someone else's statements."<sup>45</sup> In this particular instance, perhaps because of a personal relationship that had developed from day-to-day interaction, prejudice was overcome and an understanding reached.

Other Polish memoirs also view Ukrainian employers positively, even though some contain echoes of old prejudices with comments such as "a Ukrainian, but a good reliable fellow" or "neighbours...all Ukrainians, but good people."<sup>46</sup> The man who made this assessment, like many newly arrived Poles, had difficulty comprehending and identifying the nationality and national mentality of his neighbourhood. "They speak Ruthenian [Ruski]," he wrote, "but are Polish...during services there are

beautiful Polish hymns...they leave church...and I don't know who is Polish and who Ruthenian [Ruski], everyone speaks Ruthenian....They steal our language! Because if they were good Poles they would speak Polish outside the church as well as inside."<sup>47</sup> In building good Polish-Ukrainian relations on the prairies, the Greek Catholic and Roman Catholic churches played a constructive role, especially in rural areas where a resident priest was often a rarity. The individual cited above noted that in his district "there was a Polish church and a Ukrainian Uniate church, and the Ruthenians went to the Polish church and the Poles to the Uniate church once a month, so there was enough people in the Polish church and in the Ukrainian church so they came to this agreement and all was well."<sup>48</sup>

Common attendance at church services or spending holy days together helped to unite a new community; priests of both denominations found that they would be received cordially and with respect. Other reminiscences of hospitable Polish-Ukrainian relations on the prairies allude to secular affairs—a helping hand, shared lodgings, Ukrainian attendance at parties, concerts, and amateur theatricals in Polish halls. "We lived like brothers with the Ukrainians," a Polish immigrant remembered fondly.<sup>49</sup> Ukrainians also treated the Poles as their own, although sometimes their good name existed at the expense of settlers of other nationalities. "We are going to be neighbours which is good," a recent Polish arrival later quoted his new Ukrainian neighbours as saying, "because we thought that it was some Frenchmen but it is our own people."<sup>50</sup>

The extent to which these Polish memoirs paint an idealistic picture of Polish-Ukrainian relations in Canada can be questioned. Were their authors sincere? Were their experiences and stories typical? Did their Polish publishers exercise a certain "censorship"? But some reminiscences exhibit more critical attitudes. There are complaints, for example, about Ukrainian cheats and unsympathetic Ukrainian employers. Drawing on an author's specific experiences and local environment, there are also more philosophical reflections on the relations between the two groups. In his district, one immigrant said, "there were only four Polish families. Most inhabitants were Ukrainian, who had two halls, one called the workers' temple and the other the national hall. Their attitude to Poles was bearable, although critical. One could sense that despite a feeling of rebellion, they felt somehow inferior to us."<sup>51</sup> While the author unfortunately failed to elaborate or provide supporting evidence, he did reveal his bitterness at a situation where the old ethnic minority from Poland became the dominant group in Canada, particularly in the localities where Poles settled. In another point in his memoirs the same man stated

that in the area with which he was familiar, the Polish and Ukrainian groups lived isolated from each other. Support for a Polish aldermanic candidate had been sought among the Ukrainians but "came to nothing due to the lack of an intelligent approach on both sides."<sup>52</sup>

Also found in Polish immigrant memoirs, although as a secondary thread, are critical attitudes towards Ukrainian community politics, ranging from what was described as "extreme nationalist propaganda"<sup>53</sup> on the one end to so-called Ukrainian susceptibility to communist agitation on the other. One memoirist noted that in the Ukrainian district where he lived "everyone was influenced by communist organizations and they even had their own labour-farmer temple. This was the name of a communist organization to which they came rarely anyway." Referring to his Ukrainian-farmer employer specifically, he added: "He was fascinated by propaganda about Soviet Russia and told me that if he did not die earlier, he must at all costs visit the Soviet Union, which I did not advise him not to do as I did not want to risk losing my job."<sup>54</sup>

Memoiristic literature provides few examples to suggest anything other than that politics were not the most important issue for prairie residents of Polish extraction when they considered their Ukrainian fellow immigrants. Nevertheless, for some Poles opinions on Polish problems in Europe determined the criteria for evaluating the Ukrainians with whom they came into contact in Canada. In this context it is worth noting that in Polish immigrant memoirs the years of the Second World War itself are not distinctive in any way. Nor do diaries of the period indicate any noticeable increase in Polish-Ukrainian tensions. This too would seem to imply that events overseas, both at the point when they happened and as authors of reminiscences looked back on times past, had little influence on existing social relationships that were by and large positive.

The picture of the Ukrainian Canadian community that emerges from Polish consular records, the Polish ethnic press in Canada, and Polish immigrant reminiscences is far from complete, partly because of the selective nature of the documents even though they were created to fill different needs and thus represent different views. Polish concerns focused on two main issues: Ukrainian attitudes to Polish political problems both in Europe and abroad, and Polish-Ukrainian relations, distinguishing between Poland and Canada. The available sources show that Polish-Ukrainian conflict tended to occur primarily in large urban centres where strong Polish and Ukrainian communities, often highly politicized, existed, and where the major organizations of the two groups were to be found. In such an environment, attempts at dialogue and the political programs devised by Ukrainian and Polish elites artificially kept alive and aggravated old-country sources of conflict and disagree-

ment—be they the memory of mutual wrongs and persecution, or the goal of Ukrainian independence versus the integrity of Poland's eastern borders. While these problems could not be resolved in Canada, they worked to create a wall of hostility that made intergroup collaboration difficult. At the same time, the experiences of local communities, where Poles and Ukrainians lived side by side and interacted on a daily and personal basis, proved that cooperation and understanding were possible among individuals removed from the political storm centres of their respective communities.

## Notes

1. See A. Reczyńska, *Emigracja z Polski do Kanady w okresie międzywojennym* (Wrocław 1985).
2. See A. Balawyder, *The Maple Leaf and the White Eagle: Canadian-Polish Relations, 1918-1978* (New York 1980).
3. Polish consulate, Winnipeg, to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MSZ), Warsaw, 26 September 1942, MU 9690, Archives of Ontario, Toronto.
4. General-consul (KG), Ottawa, to MSZ, 2 April 1938, MU 9695.
5. Juliusz Szygowski, Polish consul, Winnipeg, to MSZ, 24 March 1938, Multicultural History Society of Ontario, Polish Collection, Archives of Ontario.
6. Secret report, Juliusz Szygowski, 1 June 1939, MU 9690.
7. Juliusz Szygowski to KG, 30 September 1939, citing *Novyi shliakh*, 14 September 1939, and *Narodna hazeta*, 21 September 1939, *ibid.*
8. Juliusz Szygowski to KG, 9 December 1939, *ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. Juliusz Szygowski to MSZ, 14 January 1941, *ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*
13. KG to MSZ, 12 December 1940, MU 9691; and Polish consul, Montreal, to MSZ, 11 March 1942, MU 9690.
14. KG to MSZ, 12 December 1940, MU 9691.
15. *Czas*, 7 January 1940.
16. *Związkowiec*, 16 August 1942.
17. *Czas*, 14 January 1940.
18. *Związkowiec*, 6 December 1942.
19. *Ibid.*, 18 August 1940.
20. *Czas*, 17 March 1942.
21. *Ibid.*, 8 June 1943.
22. *Związkowiec*, 20 June 1943.

23. Ibid., 21 November 1943. Apart from press articles, Garczyński also published a pamphlet, *Problem ukraiński* (Ottawa 1941).
24. Ibid., 14 and 21 November 1943.
25. *Czas*, 21 September 1943; see also *ibid.*, 21 December 1943.
26. Ibid., 2 November 1943.
27. Ibid., 21 December 1943, responding to *Ukrainskyi holos*.
28. *Związkowiec*, 14 November 1943.
29. Ibid., 25 April 1943.
30. Ibid., 31 October 1943.
31. See, for example, *ibid.*, 24 October 1943.
32. Ibid., 16 January 1944; see also 2 January 1944, 11 February 1945.
33. *Czas*, 19 November 1940.
34. See, for example, *Związkowiec*, 7 April 1940.
35. *Gazeta Polska*, 23 June 1943; see also *Czas*, 31 December 1940, 23 March and 6 April 1943.
36. *Związkowiec*, 24 October 1943.
37. *Czas*, 3 December 1940.
38. See, for example, *Związkowiec*, 17 March 1940 (Ansonville, Ontario), 19 December 1943 (Oshawa, Ontario); and *Czas*, 3 February 1945 (Coleman, Alberta).
39. See, for example, *Związkowiec*, 20 June 1943, 24 September 1944.
40. Ibid., 9 and 16 August 1944.
41. MG28, V100, vol. 2, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa.
42. Stanisław Sekida, Edmonton, in *Polish Settlers in Alberta: Reminiscences and Biographies*, ed. J. Matejko (Toronto 1979), 174.
43. Julian Topolnicki, "Na miejskim bruku," in *Pamiętniki imigrantów polskich w Kanadzie*, vol. 1, ed. B. Heydenkorn (Toronto 1975), 265.
44. Chester Sadowski, "Lata ciężkie i trudne," in *ibid.*, vol. 2 (Toronto 1977), 170.
45. Ibid.
46. Albert Eskra, "Trudny żywot," in *Pamiętniki imigrantów polskich w Kanadzie*, vol. 1, 204; Topolnicki, "Na miejskim bruku," 264, does not qualify its positive image.
47. Eskra, "Trudny żywot," 193-4.
48. Ibid., 193.
49. Władysław Zaniewicz, Toronto, in *Polish Settlers in Alberta*, 418.
50. Eskra, "Trudny żywot," 207.
51. Stanisław Konopka, "Wspomnienia działacza społecznego," in *Pamiętniki imigrantów polskich w Kanadzie*, vol. 3 (Toronto 1978), 184-5.
52. Ibid., 189.
53. Ibid., 186.
54. Topolnicki, "Na miejskim bruku," 264-5.



## Constantine Henry Andrusyshen: The First Canadian-Born Slavist

*Victor O. Buyniak*

The documentation for this article is based in part on secondary sources. Much of its information, however, comes from Andrusyshen himself and from the reminiscences of relatives, friends, and former colleagues—of whom the present writer is one. As Andrusyshen dedicated over thirty years of his life to the Department of Slavic Studies at the University of Saskatchewan, his story is also, to some extent, a history of that body between its establishment in 1944 and Andrusyshen's retirement in 1975. Unfortunately, much of that period lies outside the scope of this paper, which focuses on Andrusyshen's professional activities in the interwar, war, and immediate postwar years.

Constantine Henry Andrusyshen,<sup>1</sup> known as "Henry" to his English-speaking friends, was born 19 July 1907 in Winnipeg, one of four children of Michael and Frances (née Ruda) Andrusyshen who had emigrated to Canada two years earlier from the Kalush district in Galicia. Until the age of seven, Andrusyshen spoke only Ukrainian. Although his parents were uneducated peasants (his father worked for the railway in Winnipeg), they understood the value of education and in 1912 sent their son to the private Greek Catholic St Nicholas elementary school, where the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate taught Ukrainian language, culture, religion, music, and singing in addition to English and the provincial curriculum. Andrusyshen would later recall, in conversations with the present writer, that he also studied Polish there. Between 1920 and 1924 he attended high school (and learned French) at L'Ecole Provencher in St Boniface. He entered the University of Manitoba in 1925, receiving his B.A. in 1929 and a B.A. Honours degree a year later, specializing in French and English. Slavic studies programs at Canadian universities were non-existent. While a student Andrusyshen became involved in Ukrainian community life. For example, he served as musical director of the local Prosvita society, conducted the Yurii Fedkovych Choir for the 1929 commemoration of Western Ukraine's 1918 declaration of indepen-

dence, and wrote an account of the cultural-educational work of the Winnipeg Prosvita.<sup>2</sup>

In 1930-31 Andrusyshen received a French government scholarship to study French literature and civilization at the Sorbonne University in Paris, at the same time completing his master's thesis on Chateaubriand for the University of Manitoba. In Europe he had the opportunity to travel and visited his parents' birthplace in Western Ukraine as part of his itinerary. On his return to Canada, the Depression precluded any possibility of employment at an institution of higher learning, so he turned to Winnipeg's Ukrainian community—taking part in cultural activities, giving public lectures (in English and Ukrainian), and writing articles for the press in both languages. Evidence of his concern for both the Ukrainian community and Ukrainians' integration into Canadian society, he joined the Ukrainian Economic Society "Chain," which promoted Ukrainian businesses and businessmen. He also became a member of the editorial board of the bilingual *Ukrainian Herald/Ukrainskyi vistnyk*, whose sponsor, the Ukrainian National Council of Canada, aimed to unite Ukrainian organizations in Winnipeg and throughout Canada.<sup>3</sup> These activities so perfected Andrusyshen's Ukrainian that he came to be regarded as one of the leaders of Ukrainian enlightenment in interwar western Canada. At the request of local Ukrainian organizations, he also ventured into politics, running unsuccessfully for the Manitoba legislature in 1932 as an Independent, the first representative of the nationalist community in the city of Winnipeg to attempt to enter provincial politics.<sup>4</sup>

After five years of community work, Andrusyshen enrolled at the University of Toronto, continuing his work with French literature but studying Spanish and Italian as well. He received his Ph.D. in 1940 for a dissertation on Anatole France and Ernest Renan. As a student he had lectured for a term on the Italian Renaissance, but universities still had few openings for humanists, even those with doctorates. Andrusyshen later recalled that he sent out some two hundred applications but received only two replies, neither of which led to a job. At the age of thirty-four, he returned to Winnipeg in 1941 to succeed T. Datzkiw as editor-in-chief of *Kanadiiskyi farmer*, for which he had been an occasional correspondent since 1936. The newspaper enjoyed a large readership, perhaps partly because its owner, the Czech Frank Dojacek, tried not to embroil the weekly in internal Ukrainian disputes by taking sides with one faction or another. The announcement of the change at the top was made on the front page of the 19 March issue. This was followed by a photograph and biographical sketch of Andrusyshen a week later, when an editorial outlining the aims of the newspaper's editorial staff also

reiterated the owner's policy: political and religious neutrality, non-partisanship, avoidance of petty polemics with other newspapers, opposition to the fragmentation of the Ukrainian Canadian community, belief in democratic principles, and loyalty to Canada and Great Britain. Despite such apparently positive goals, however, Andrusyshen arrived at the height of a major controversy. A disgruntled Datzkiw began to complain in rival Ukrainian newspapers that he had been dismissed as editor for being "too Ukrainian." Dojacek contended that as a supporter of the United Hetman Organization, the ousted editor had been trying to "mold" *Kanadiiskyi farmer* into the group's Canadian mouthpiece, to the point where this was how the newspaper's readers perceived it.<sup>5</sup>

Under Andrusyshen the editorial policy as spelled out by the publisher continued but otherwise there was no discernible change in format. Practically no articles or editorials were signed by Andrusyshen. All the same, the paper did carry more articles on literature and culture together with literary translations. Occasionally as well, presumably reflecting the priorities of the new editor, the editorial page raised the notion of the desirability of some broader international scholarly-literary organization for Ukrainians in the diaspora. In March 1942 Andrusyshen marked his first anniversary in his post with a balance sheet highlighting the paper's strong and weak points. The "good" included its political neutrality and democratic leanings. Foremost among the "bad" were its linguistic and stylistic shortcomings and unevenness. They were a product of the varying skill levels of the newspaper's numerous contributors, and reflected its financial inability to afford more than a skeleton crew to check for and correct problems.<sup>6</sup> In later years, Andrusyshen would confide that he himself prepared, translated, and wrote a significant proportion of the material that reached print. He also published reprints from other Ukrainian newspapers and publications, and even scoured the English-language media for suitable material. Under Andrusyshen's stewardship, the work of several well-known Ukrainian, Canadian, and American scholars and Slavists appeared in the pages of Canada's oldest Ukrainian newspaper. They included Roman Smal-Stocky, Dmytro Chyzhevsky, Clarence Manning, George W. Simpson, Watson Kirkconnell, H. Skehar, and J.B. Rudnyc'kyj. Announcements of English-language translations from Ukrainian literature also appeared periodically. While the pronounced increase in *Kanadiiskyi farmer's* literary content undeniably bore Andrusyshen's imprint, only one polemical editorial, responding to a leading article in *Ukrainskyi holos* and signed by Andrusyshen, appeared.<sup>7</sup>

Andrusyshen's journalistic career ended in November 1944 with his resignation from *Kanadiiskyi farmer*. He was replaced as editor by O. H.

Hykawy who had a long association with the paper and thus needed no introduction to its readers. Andrusyshen relinquished his editorship in order to take advantage of developments in neighbouring Saskatchewan, where the provincial university had unexpectedly decided to introduce Slavic courses into its curriculum. The preceding September, in fact, *Kanadiiskyi farmer* had announced the introduction of a Ukrainian-language course at the Saskatoon campus; and during the recently concluded academic year the university had indeed experimented with both Ukrainian and Russian courses.<sup>8</sup> It was now anxious to obtain a suitable permanent instructor and approached Andrusyshen with the proposition that he assume the post. One of the driving forces behind this unprecedented step on behalf of Slavic studies at a Canadian university, historian George W. Simpson played a crucial role in Andrusyshen's appointment. A professor at the University of Saskatchewan, Simpson had long been interested in Ukrainian and Slavic affairs, inserting a Slavic "component" into one of his own history courses as early as 1937.<sup>9</sup> He and Andrusyshen had known each other since 1940 when they both participated in the formation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.<sup>10</sup> But while these personal ties undeniably helped, Andrusyshen was the sole person in Canada with the necessary qualifications for the job. He was conversant with three Romance languages, knew Ukrainian and Polish, and had perfect command of English. All that was lacking was certification in Russian, for which the University of Saskatchewan helped Andrusyshen secure a fellowship from the Rockefeller Foundation to spend 1944-45 intensively studying Russian language and literature, as well as Old Church Slavonic, at Harvard University. Upon completing his course, he received a certificate from the director of Slavonic Studies at Harvard confirming his competency to teach in the newly established Slavics department, the first of its kind in Canada, at the University of Saskatchewan.<sup>11</sup>

Andrusyshen's duties commenced in the 1945-46 academic year. According to the university's annual report, two language courses in Russian and one in Ukrainian were taught and preliminary interest was expressed in Polish. Andrusyshen also did some editing for the Blackwell series of Slavic texts, collaborated with Professor Joseph S. Roucek on the *Slavonic Encyclopaedia* project, and produced three review articles on Ukrainian subjects.<sup>12</sup> In its second year of operation, the Slavics department increased its course offerings to six and was boldly touted as the future "centre of Ukrainian studies on this Continent." Andrusyshen, by now an assistant professor, had three articles accepted by the *New York Ukrainian Quarterly*, and would, in succeeding years, continue to publish in both it and the London-based *Slavonic Review*.<sup>13</sup> His scholarly output

in the *Ukrainian Quarterly* alone between 1945 and 1948 included articles on Ukrainian theatre and politics, Cossack *dumy*, the philosopher Hryhory Skovoroda, and Ukrainian literature and the common man.

The annual reports for the University of Saskatchewan for 1946-47 and 1947-48 reveal Andrusyshen's ambitious plans for the future: initiating a Section of Modern Languages—adding Polish, Spanish, and Italian; teaching a course in comparative literature; and, eventually, offering a doctoral program. Meanwhile, the number of Slavics courses grew steadily, and there were several inquiries about M.A. degrees, five of them in Ukrainian. The department also began conducting senior matriculation examinations in Ukrainian in preparation for the introduction of the language into the Saskatchewan high school curriculum. Andrusyshen's professional contacts also expanded. In 1947, for example, he was elected vice-president of the Canadian Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages, an affiliate of the American ATSEEL and forerunner of the Canadian Association of Slavists. On the academic side, his publication credits illustrated both continuing productivity and continuing dedication to the Ukrainian Canadian community. He wrote for *Collier's Encyclopedia*, for example, and in 1949 had two articles published in booklet form by the Ukrainian National Youth Federation: "Shevchenko—A National and Universal Genius" and "Highlights of Ukrainian Literature."<sup>14</sup>

In 1949 Andrusyshen became an associate professor and head of the four-year-old department. His promotion, however, apparently encountered a certain amount of resistance, for it came only after he had made several appeals to the university administration on his own behalf to accelerate the process.<sup>15</sup> By this point Andrusyshen had already started work on the preparation of one of his most enduring legacies, a Ukrainian-English dictionary. The records show him writing numerous letters and submissions, supported by the president of the university, seeking financial assistance for the project from the Rockefeller Foundation.<sup>16</sup> Also in 1949 Andrusyshen made his first major pedagogical contribution towards the provision of teaching manuals for Ukrainian courses at both high school and university levels, producing a 240-page annotated English-language anthology with a glossary, *Readings in Ukrainian Authors*. Again demonstrating the link between his scholarship and the Ukrainian community, the volume was published and partially financed by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. Together, the anthology and projected dictionary testified to Andrusyshen's conviction, long maintained, that as the younger generation lost touch with the language and traditions of its forefathers, basic groundwork was required in Ukrainian studies. Himself convinced of the urgency and importance of the task, he



frequently complained in later years that other scholars and educators insufficiently appreciated and supported such work.

In light of this attitude, it is not surprising that over the next five years, until its completion in 1955, Andrusyshen's professional energies were primarily devoted to the compilation and publication of his Ukrainian-English dictionary. He had to worry about financing the project as well and as such constantly solicited support, especially for printing, from different quarters. Besides appealing to outside foundations, he approached the Board of Governors of the University of Saskatchewan, and with the help of the president, some university funds were allocated for the project. The University of Toronto Press agreed to promote and distribute the volume when ready.<sup>17</sup> In the meantime, to help with the preparation, Andrusyshen enlisted his father-in-law, J.N. Krett of Winnipeg, and his first wife, Helen Virginia, to whom the finished product was dedicated. Printed in Saskatoon by the Gospel Press, Andrusyshen's dictionary (as he subsequently boasted to the writer) was the largest book to come out of the prairie city to that point in time. He himself, he also recalled, had had to help set the type. With 1,163 pages, 95,000 entries, and 35,000 idioms and phrases, Andrusyshen's dictionary was easily the most comprehensive work in Ukrainian lexicography to have been compiled to date inside or outside Ukraine. Much painstaking and assiduous labour had paid off, and two years after its publication, Andrusyshen was satisfied with his dictionary's reception.<sup>18</sup> From the vantage point of hindsight, he subsequently argued that without it, Ukrainian studies in English-speaking countries would not have been able to progress as rapidly as they did over the following two decades.<sup>19</sup> But already in 1955 the University of Saskatchewan recognized his achievement and seminal contribution to his field, promoting him to full professor.

While engaged in work on the dictionary, Andrusyshen had continued to teach all the classes in his department, added new courses, and helped introduce Ukrainian into Saskatchewan's high schools. In 1950-51 alone, he also prepared an article on the sixtieth anniversary of Ukrainian immigration to Canada (published in the *Ukrainian Year Book*, 1951-52); translated three hundred pages of proceedings into English for the Historical and Philological Section of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in New York; and presented a paper at the American ATSEEL conference in Windsor-Detroit.<sup>20</sup> Locally he remained active in the Ukrainian community, giving numerous public lectures, especially to the Ukrainian National Federation, and serving as president of the Eparchial Executive of Ukrainian Catholics of Saskatchewan. (In later years he would be made honorary president of the Ukrainian Catholic Professional Club, "Fides,"

and of the first Ukrainian Teachers Association of Saskatchewan.)

In the mid 1950s the number of students in Andrusyshen's department grew to 136, reflecting the growing interest in Slavic studies at campuses across Canada. This interest culminated at the professional level with the formation of the Canadian Association of Slavists in 1954. Andrusyshen played no active role in the association's creation, even though he had been much involved with its predecessor. His reasons were primarily personal: he was absorbed with his dictionary, and his first wife and collaborator on the project passed away prematurely. Other concerns were more professional: his initial training lay in Romance languages and literatures, and he harboured certain reservations about the new body, its aims, and the scholarly pursuits of some of its members. Thus, Constantine Henry Andrusyshen, the first Canadian-born Slavist and pioneer in Slavic studies in this country, neither joined the Canadian Association of Slavists nor participated in its activities.

This did not, of course, mean that he withdrew from the academic world or participation in other professional organizations and institutions. Over the next two decades, and even following his official retirement from the University of Saskatchewan, Andrusyshen remained prolific—translating Ukrainian classics into English, preparing student anthologies, annually reviewing publications on eastern Europe for the *University of Toronto Quarterly*, refereeing manuscripts, writing articles, and even producing a novel. He also presided over the fluctuating fortunes of his department as the optimistic growth of the 1950s failed to be sustained in the more austere 1970s. Andrusyshen's contributions to Slavic studies were publicly recognized by both the Ukrainian Canadian and mainstream communities. In 1964 he not only received a Shevchenko Centennial Medal from the Ukrainian Canadian Committee but was also elected to the Royal Society of Canada, the first such recognition of a scholar of Ukrainian origin for work on the Ukrainian language, literature, and culture. Three years later he was awarded a Canada Centennial Medal, and in 1971 was named Simpson Professor in Slavic Studies, a honour he held until his retirement from the University of Saskatchewan. Honorary membership in the Canadian Association of Slavists followed in 1975. Lastly, a Saskatoon Centennial Medal in 1982 acknowledged his contribution to his adopted city.

Constantine Henry Andrusyshen died in Saskatoon on 13 May 1983 and an industrious life came to an end. In a chance conversation with the writer, one of his former French professors at the University of Manitoba remembered him as a modest man, perhaps a little shy and reticent. He was also friendly and helpful, and possessed an excellent sense of

humour. A true scholar who generally avoided crowds and ostentation, Andrusyshen felt most at ease in his study—at work.

## Notes

1. The following biographical details come from the Mendel Art Gallery (Saskatoon) publication, *Folio* 5, no. 2 (February 1977): 2; Mykhailo H. Marunchak, *Biohrafichnyi dovidnyk do istorii ukraintsiv Kanady* (Winnipeg 1986), 25-6; Andrusyshen's curriculum vitae in the University of Saskatchewan Archives, Saskatoon; and *Kanadiiskyi farmer*, 26 March 1941.
2. For these activities specifically see Olha Voitsenko, *Litopys ukrainskoho zhyttia v Kanadi* III (Winnipeg 1965), 275; and Michael H. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History*, 2d ed. rev. (Winnipeg and Ottawa 1982), 454.
3. Marunchak, *Ukrainian Canadians*, 427, 477.
4. See Paul Yuzyk, *The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History* (Toronto 1953), 129; and *Kanadiiskyi farmer*, 26 March 1941.
5. *Kanadiiskyi farmer*, 30 April 1941.
6. *Ibid.*, 25 March 1942.
7. *Ibid.*, 28 October 1942.
8. See *ibid.*, 22 and 29 September 1943.
9. See Thomas M. Prymak, "George Simpson, the Ukrainian Canadians and the 'Pre-History' of Slavic Studies in Canada," *Saskatchewan History* 41, no. 2 (Spring 1988): 59; and correspondence, September 1957, Constantine Henry Andrusyshen Papers, University of Saskatchewan Archives.
10. See *Zbirnyk materialiv i dokumentiv u 25-littia diialnosti KUK, 1940-1965* (Winnipeg 1965), 22, 30.
11. Curriculum vitae; see also Victor Buyniak, "Slavic Studies in Canada: An Historical Review," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 9, no. 1 (Spring 1967): 7-11.
12. *Annual Report of the University of Saskatchewan, 1945-46*, 90-1, 131, University of Saskatchewan Archives.
13. *Annual Report of the University of Saskatchewan, 1946-47*, 91, 131; and Yuzyk, *Ukrainians in Manitoba*, 140.
14. See curriculum vitae; and *Annual Report of the University of Saskatchewan, 1947-48*, 79-81.
15. See President's Office Files, May 1949, University of Saskatchewan Archives.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*, August-October 1951, August 1952, November-December 1950.
18. Unpublished departmental annual report, 1956-57, University of Saskatchewan Archives.
19. Curriculum vitae.
20. See unpublished departmental annual report, 1950-51.

# Vera Lysenko's *Men in Sheepskin Coats* (1947): The Untold Story

*Alexandra Kruchka Glynn*

When Vera Lysenko (Lesik) undertook the research and writing of her first book, *Men in Sheepskin Coats: A Study in Assimilation*, she was making history while writing history. As a woman, she moved beyond the usual literary and academic boundaries by daring to chronicle, in non-fiction form, the group experience and contribution of the Ukrainians in Canada. She was also pioneering as the first Ukrainian Canadian author to write a history of her people in English. Despite the dearth of compiled data and accessible resource material, Lysenko was determined to carry out the work. This was no small or simple task. Hundreds of hours were spent travelling across Canada, searching through records in Ukrainian halls and churches, and sifting through sometimes forgotten trunks in farmhouses far from progressive urban areas. Lysenko also employed the skills she developed as a newspaper reporter to interview personally hundreds of individuals, then follow up any leads they provided. Lastly, she wove the strands of oral history—the stories of immigrants who often could not write themselves—into a permanent written document.

Because Lysenko was breaking new ground in her attempt to produce an account of the Ukrainian Canadian experience, there were difficulties that had to be resolved. Verification of information was often impossible because recorded data confirming much of the material Lysenko was gathering did not exist. This meant that she placed great trust in her family and associates as she drew on their experiences to fill out the details in the work.

The project was a labour of love for which Lysenko was willing to make personal sacrifices, resigning her secure position at the *Windsor Star* to devote the necessary time to research and writing. Financial support then became a crucial issue. In the absence of government grants, and

excluded by class and ethnicity from the dominant Anglo society that might have provided financial resources, Lysenko approached various Ukrainian organizations for funding. However, because the Lesik family had abandoned the traditional Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox faiths, becoming Stundists, she was an outsider to the Ukrainian community. Her requests for financial assistance were consistently rejected, until she turned to the pro-communist, pro-Soviet Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (AUUC), the successor to the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA). Leading figures in this organization were familiar with her published work and held the opinion that she was indeed a talented writer. Her strong social conscience, firm sense of class solidarity, and socialist political views also impressed them. They saw that, although her Canadian university education placed her among an "elite," Lysenko's sympathies were with those she regarded as oppressed by a system that exploited immigrants, women, labourers, and farmers. The fact that she was using her intellectual resources and literary talent to promote an awareness of the inequities she abhorred moved individual members of the AUUC to offer personal donations so that Lysenko could proceed with her project without financial distress.

For years, it was assumed that Lysenko conducted the work on her own and that the published version of *Men in Sheepskin Coats* was her final manuscript. Such was not the case. In reality, Lysenko's AUUC patrons were not only financially generous, but also provided her with "consultants" to assist with the project. Her work was scrutinized by John Navis (Ivan Navizivsky), Peter Krawchuk, and Pylyp Lysets. Her main advisor, Lysets had been invited to Canada by the ULFTA in 1928 as an inspector for its children's schools (*ditochi shkoly*). Lysenko felt confident working with these experienced "consultants" who shared her desire to educate Canadians about their people while giving Ukrainian Canadians a better sense of their own dual heritage. Without hesitation, she drew upon their expertise and turned particularly to Lysets as a reliable source for information. The following letter, dated 27 October 1945, indicates how much Lysenko depended on Lysets for assistance during the gathering of information stage for her book:

Dear Mr. Lysets:

I am sending you a long list of questions which I should like you to answer at your earliest convenience. As you know, doubtless, I am revising my book and since most of the revisions are concerned with the press and politics, I am taking the liberty of sending you these questions.

PRESS:

What are the sources of your material?



Give an analysis of the contents.

How many Ukrainian newspapers in Canada? What are their names?

What is their circulation? In what cities are they printed?

By whom are they sponsored? How many newspapers have been published in Canada since the Ukrainians first came here, and what are their names? (Mr. Kumka can answer this one—he has written an article on the subject).

How many times a week does each paper come out? What are your sources of revenue? What are your relations with the old country? Do you publish books and pamphlets as well as a newspaper? What is the set-up in regard to the staff? How many on staff, and what in general are their qualifications? How many hours a day do they work and do they have any other duties? How would you estimate the influence of Ukrainian papers in Canada?

Kindly give some characteristic excerpts from editorials.

Kindly give a brief biographical note on Shatulski.

Kindly send me the issue containing the story of Popovich.

Give me a brief account of the socialist Ukrainian press during the early days (before 1918)[.]

Kindly send me your two anniversary calendars.

What do you regard as the main function of the press?

#### BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATIONS:

What are the assets of your B.A.?

Give me figures regarding business done by the People's Co-op.

How many members of the B.A.?

What are its extraneous activities? What are its purposes? When organized? Does it carry on social activities, sports, music, etc?

What is the organizational scheme? By-laws, etc?

How often does it hold conventions? How are finances administered?

What are its officers? Do you have summer camps, schools, etc?

Does the B.A. publish newspapers? Did it participate in war relief?

Does it offer scholarships to high school students?

#### POLITICAL:

What are the main political issues facing Ukrainians in Canada?

Any other information or suggestions you can offer will be welcome. I should appreciate it if you could answer these questions within two weeks.

Thank you,  
(signed)  
Vera Lesik

P.S. Please send 3 copies of your paper & 3 copies of Shatulski's paper.<sup>1</sup>

Filled with gratitude to her benefactors, and concentrating only on the fact that she had the opportunity to fulfill her desire to write an informal history, Lysenko did not see that her working relationship with her patrons might give rise to future controversy. Navis, Krawchuk, and Lysets were actively involved in the Communist Party of Canada. Lysenko, somewhat naive about party politics, did not realize that by becoming involved with communist activists she was bound to be identified with their movement. Without reservation, she submitted her completed manuscript to her "consultants" to forward for publication. However, *Men in Sheepskin Coats*, published by Ryerson Press of Toronto in 1947, is an altered version of Lysenko's text.<sup>2</sup>

Lysenko's unedited typescript, entitled "They Came from Cossack Land," was more than 600 pages in length. Written in a style more like an epic novel, it is divided into three sections. The first part, "Cossack Land", begins with a prologue that contains some of Lysenko's most evocative writing, drawing the reader and the subject together by appealing to sentiment in the telling of an historical event. Lysenko presents a moving description of the seekers of "a new life":

They had little enough to remind them of the land they had left behind: a handful of the sacred soil of their native land, wrapped up in a kerchief, a few bundles of seeds, and their peasant tools, sickles and scythes to till the new earth; in their hearts, memories of a great tradition....

Mute, heartsick yet courageous—how could they speak to strangers in a strange land—men who did not understand their musical tongue, who despised the bright embroid[er]ies of their costumes, who looked contemptuously upon the "foreigners" and knew nothing of their ways? How could they tell what land was theirs in the old country, to what proud traditions they were the heirs, what poets had sung to them? How could they speak and say from what land they had come?<sup>3</sup>

Responding to her own rhetorical questions, Lysenko becomes the spokesperson for the Ukrainian immigrants and their children as she tells their story. She opens the prologue with "The men and women in sheepskin coats." These words are significant. They indicate that in her attempt to generate a better understanding of her people, Lysenko made a conscious decision to include both sexes and not present Ukrainian Canadian history as solely a male experience. Her careful attention throughout the manuscript to the role played by women anticipates the work of feminist historians who, in the 1970s, challenged the traditional androcentric approach to the writing of Canadian history. The first part

of "They Came from Cossack Land" (73 pages) contains the old-world history of the Ukrainian settlers, opening with an extensive account of the Zaporozhian Cossacks and introducing important events and figures from Ukrainian history. Lysenko's goal to make the past of her people come alive is obvious from her approach. She creates a sense of immediacy and involvement in the moment, almost dramatizing the events by including dialogue along with clear descriptive scenes. Demonstrating literary and documentary skills, Lysenko carries the reader back into time, and vividly resurrects for her English-language audience such individuals as Petro Konashevych-Sahaidachny, Bohdan Khmelnytsky, and Ivan Mazepa. Oleksa Dovbush, the "Robin Hood of Ukrainian Mountaineers," she describes as "half real, half fantasy, liv[ing] forever in the folk songs of the Hutsuls."<sup>4</sup> With splashes of bold colour, she embroiders a picture of the Hutsul setting, attire, and dance so effectively that the bagpipe sounds of the these Carpathian dwellers are almost heard. The Carpathian Mountain people's life, a contrast to that of the more familiar mode of the dwellers of the prairie-like steppes, is realistically revealed, perhaps the first such exposure for the non-Ukrainian reader.

In Part One, Lysenko devotes several pages to the Cossack tradition in Eastern Ukraine, and ties "the trek of the Zaporagian [*sic*] cossacks to seek a new homeland"<sup>5</sup> following the destruction of the Sich to the late nineteenth-century migration of Ukrainian peasants to Canada. She does this by drawing a parallel with Ivan Kotliarevsky's "Travesty of the Aeneid." There is a connection, she implies, between the exodus of Kotliarevsky's classical heroes who found refuge in "the vast undeveloped south lands"<sup>6</sup> and the peasants of Western Ukraine who, in more modern times, also had to abandon their homeland: "Escape, where? The descendant of the cossacks looked about him desperately and far to the west, beyond the seas, a new light of hope appeared. And so he left cossack land and came to the New World."<sup>7</sup> While the Ukrainians of Galicia and Bukovyna who dominated the Ukrainian movement to Canada had not historically shared the Cossack experience Lysenko evokes, she is undoubtedly seeking to ignite passion and pride among Ukrainian Canadians in their Ukrainian heritage. Moreover, by identifying late nineteenth-century peasant immigrants to Canada as successors to the Cossacks, Lysenko also elevates their story to a level comparable with the Cossacks' past glories.

Part Two of Lysenko's original manuscript is entitled "New Breaking" and deals with the Ukrainian pioneer experience in Canada. It opens with "The Land Passion," which again paints a picture that is more dramatic than concerned with historical objectivity and accuracy:

The empty prairies were waiting...waiting to be made fertile. Across the western plains of Canada stretched a wilderness of a thousand miles. No plough had ever touched that virgin soil. It was a savage land, buffeted by the elemental powers of nature, resisting all attempts to conquer and tame it to the uses of cultivation.<sup>8</sup>

Lysenko continues to stress the unimaginable condition of the land which "was stubborn, rock-bound, overrun by flood, heaving with muskeg, bristling with bush and treacherous with quagmire."<sup>9</sup> She writes of the settlers who fought the terrain, with only their bare hands as tools as they tried to clear away the brush and wild roots. The images are graphic. But they are also romanticized, as Lysenko refers to the poetry of the immigrants' labour, "the poetry of rich, golden plump wheat-ears, the poetry of the harvest, of the changing seasons, of the rites and powers of nature, of man's love for mother earth."<sup>10</sup> Despite the hardship and her characterization of "a savage land," Lysenko reveals a deep respect for nature as she describes the early Ukrainian settlement in the Canadian West. But she also introduces the reader to the immigrants' customs and folk arts, which brought a touch of refinement and continuity into their lives.

Part Two also traces various aspects of the development of the new Ukrainian community. A large portion of this section deals with an overview of the religious denominations which competed for "Ukrainian souls."<sup>11</sup> As well, it includes matters of education and the important role of the teacher; facts and figures regarding Ukrainian publications; a short discussion of political parties and their influence on Ukrainian immigrant voters; and informative details about industrial workers. Interspersed throughout are anecdotal descriptions of rituals and customs preserved in Canada. Clearly, Lysenko was conscious of a readership that included immigrants and those without formal education, for she wrote in a style that was easy to read and without cumbersome documentation or an inflated vocabulary.

The last section of the manuscript, "Prairie Giants," documents the accomplishments of outstanding individuals. When compared with the first two parts, the brevity of this section seems inconsistent, although there is no sense that it is an incomplete piece. Possibly Lysenko saw the manuscript as already being beyond an acceptable length. Or, given the time when she was writing, there might have been only a small number of Ukrainians who had made the transition from settler to prominent achiever. Unfortunately, the mystery of whether this is actually the entire manuscript is likely to remain unsolved.

When Lysenko turned over this unedited version of her work, she thought that she had completed her task in a more than satisfactory

manner. After "interviewing hundreds of persons all over Canada during a period of three or four years," on hundreds of pages, she felt she had delivered "a broad picture of Ukrainian Canadian life over a period of fifty years."<sup>12</sup> Lysenko assumed, when she turned over her manuscript, that it would be published quickly, but two years passed before the book reached print. Unbeknown to her, the text underwent radical revision. The published version is only 312 pages, including the original bibliography. That Lysenko was not aware of the reasons for the delay becomes apparent from the following letter, dated 3 March 1946, and written on the stationery of the Hotel Taft, in New York:

Dear Mr. Navis:

I am here in New York for a few days on business—am going to do a little research work in the libraries here, some publishers, etc.

When I phoned you on Friday I was somewhat surprised that you people had done nothing at all about trying to get my book published. It appears to me that perhaps you do not appreciate fully the importance of having such material on the Ukrainians made accessible to the Canadian public. There is so much ignorance and misunderstanding about our role in Canadian life that I feel my work deserved your support. It seems to me you have neglected to do as much as you might have to assist me in promoting my book.

Will you therefore, Mr. Navis, please bring this matter to the attention of your organization, and try to decide on some concrete way of furthering my work. It would be too bad if my work were wasted just because of a lack of co-operation on your part. After all I did spend two years of hard work on it and collected some valuable material—

Yours sincerely  
Vera Lesik<sup>13</sup>

When *Men in Sheepskin Coats* finally appeared, it showed that Lysenko's sponsors not only changed the title and structure of the text, but also made deletions and alterations to better reflect their own particular notions of how Ukrainian Canadians' history should be presented.

Why did Lysenko not protest the changes? Perhaps the answer rests in her position at the time. Despite her journalistic record, she was a relatively inexperienced writer who lacked any real power where publishing was concerned. Her "consultants," in contrast, had contacts in the publishing world, and since they had been so generous in their support of her work, she trusted that they would do the proper thing in seeing the manuscript through to publication. Also, Ryerson Press was a distinguished publishing house, with many prominent Canadian authors on its lists, and managed by well-respected individuals. For Ryerson to publish Lysenko's book in edited form must mean that they felt this was



the best way to present its message to the Canadian public. Finally, Lysenko was an ethnic female author dealing with the male Anglo-dominated publishing world, and it is not difficult to surmise that if she had protested it would only have served to defeat the publication of her first major work.

With the appearance of *Men in Sheepskin Coats*, Lysenko had achieved her goal: "to explain the great romance of migration of my people to Canada" and show how "the destiny of the Men in Sheepskin Coats was bound up with the destiny of Canada."<sup>14</sup> The initial reviews in the English-language press in 1947 augured well. The book received congratulations and compliments from several reviewers, including the "mosaic" proponent, John Murray Gibbon,<sup>15</sup> who welcomed it as a significant contribution to the study of Canadian history. It seemed that Lysenko's efforts on behalf of the Ukrainian Canadians were being recognized.

However, trouble soon erupted. The anti-communist Ukrainian Canadian Committee, irritated by the fact that a leftist sympathizer and outsider to their community had produced the first English-language history of Ukrainians in Canada, and upset at the book's slant, urged Watson Kirkconnell to discredit the work. Kirkconnell, an influential academic with strongly conservative views and a supporter of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, accused Lysenko of engaging in left-wing propaganda. He sent an unsolicited and sharply worded critique to the book's publishers, making unsubstantiated allegations about Lysenko's political affiliations and attacking her book as "an interesting combination of authentic research and Communist propaganda" and an "unappetizing dish...laced with political arsenic."<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, Kirkconnell also admitted that most of *Men in Sheepskin Coats* made for "an excellent and readable account of the settlement of Ukrainians in Canada and their advancement in two generations to positions of affluence and distinction." Although Kirkconnell took specific exception to a very small portion of the material in the text, some twelve pages, his negative assessment in general created the impression that the entire book was tainted.

Lysenko was inadvertently caught in the middle of a political battle. The timing of the release of *Men in Sheepskin Coats* placed her in an especially awkward position. She had begun work on the project in 1943 when the Soviet Union was an ally of the Western Powers, but the 1947 publication occurred just as the Cold War rhetoric was beginning to intensify. Kirkconnell's critique—an edited version of which was published in the *University of Toronto Quarterly*<sup>17</sup>—stung Lysenko, and in a later, unpublished autobiographical work, she protested:

It seemed all the more shameful to me, this attack on me, the most vicious ever made on a Canadian writer, with its distortion of irrelevant facts, its aggrandizement of minutiae, its exaggeration of the least important aspects of my theses.<sup>18</sup>

On 9 March 1948 Lysenko swore in an affidavit that she was not and had never been a member of "the Communist Party, the Progressive Labour Party, the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association or the Ukrainian Canadian Association."<sup>19</sup> An extensive interview with her convinced Frank Flemington, one of the editors at Ryerson Press, that she was not a communist and had never intended to promote the communist cause. In a memo to Dr Lorne Pierce, the senior editor at Ryerson, Flemington indicated his support for Lysenko and described Kirkconnell as a "fanatic looking for a fight." In a follow-up letter to Kirkconnell, Flemington suggested that legal action was being considered. This resulted in Kirkconnell toning down his attack in the published version of his critique, but the damage was done and the allegations regarding Lysenko's political affiliations continued, especially in the Ukrainian community and press.

The injury to Lysenko's career and health was tremendous. Besides public humiliation and making no gain financially, her reputation as a sincere and serious writer was shattered. Disappointed at the lack of support "when the writer is attacked on the basis of being a little too far ahead of his time," she charged that "anyone who speaks out against social injustice is immediately suspect."<sup>20</sup> Ultimately, Lysenko concluded that it was

much better to be "socially acceptable," and so our writers lose the force and power which writers of other nations can wield but seems so deplorably absent in our Canadian writers. "Be on the safe side, steer clear of labor problems, shut your eyes to social abuses, and you'll be on the side of the mighty."<sup>21</sup>

For several years, Lysenko did not publish. She was devastated not only by Kirkconnell's damage to her reputation and career as a writer, but also by the failure of the Ukrainian community to recognize her efforts on its behalf.

Lysenko never fully recovered from the controversy surrounding *Men in Sheepskin Coats*. Throughout the remaining years of her life, her physical and emotional health suffered, and on several occasions she was hospitalized. She also made extensive notes assessing her own reaction to the episode and its effects on her mental state, at one point writing: "There was something, a hard, deep, hateful part of my past, which dreaded reviving, which I had avoided mentioning in all my interviews with the

psychiatrist. I finally summoned up the courage to yank at it and pull it out, in all its meanness, its disaster, its injustice."<sup>22</sup> Like an abuse victim finally confronting the truth by releasing a repressed memory, Lysenko continued:

On the appearance of my first book, *Men in Sheepskin Coats*, a social history of my people, the Ukrainians in Canada, an attack was made upon it, smearing me and accusing me of a communist bias...It was vile, unexpected, utterly unjustified, and made by a person occupying some position of authority in Canadian literary life. It was handed to me by the Editor, Dr. Lorne Pierce, and I could not believe what my horrified mind registered...

Dangerous Red Propaganda Must Be Exposed...

A sick feeling overwhelmed me. Fury, ungovernable, surged through me and my fingers trembled as I took up the purported review of my social history of the Ukrainians in Canada. What on Earth? I could hardly believe what I was reading. Every sickly, distorted accusation of a mean and perverted personality was hurled at me by a man purporting to be a disinterested scholar with a name that Anglo-Canadians respected.<sup>23</sup>

Her years of mental pain, she concluded, "had all begun the day I received a copy of the attack on my first book."<sup>24</sup> Yet Lysenko's pride in her achievement remained. "I reviewed the events that had led to my undertaking the long, hard task of assembling materials for *Men in Sheepskin Coats*," she wrote:

The new trails I had blazed. The venturesome journey I had undertaken across Canada, visiting the chief Ukrainian communities. The severe personal sacrifices the work had entailed. The thousands of hours of the most painstaking, exacting research, described by the *Toronto Star* as "staggering"...I had delved deeply into the historical background, searched out books which seemed insignificant to most people, caught various phases of activity which had seemed irrelevant until I had beautified them enormously and presented them to the Canadian people.<sup>25</sup>

Despite her experience with *Men in Sheepskin Coats*—or, more precisely, because of the Kirkconnell episode—Lysenko ultimately determined to keep on writing. However, she sought safety in a genre more acceptable for a female writer in Canada and less likely to draw fire from the Ukrainian nationalist community, and turned to fiction. *Yellow Boots* (1954), her novel of Ukrainian settlement on the prairies and the transition of the second generation from Ukrainian to Canadian, was her first work to emerge out of this period of renewed creative activity.

## Notes

1. This letter is held privately. The willingness of the holder to make it available so that I might have a more complete knowledge of Lysenko's working relationship with her "consultants" is greatly appreciated.
2. The story behind the publication of *Men in Sheepskin Coats* was revealed to me in 1987. For over forty years, Lysenko's manuscript was held privately and I am grateful to Peter Krawchuk for granting me access to the unpublished text, "They Came from Cossack Land" (nd).
3. Vera Lysenko, "They Came From Cossack Land," prologue.
4. Ibid., Part One, 47.
5. Ibid., 66.
6. Ibid., 72.
7. Ibid., 73.
8. Ibid., Part Two, 1.
9. Ibid., 2.
10. Ibid., 2-3.
11. Ibid., 37.
12. Letter, Vera Lysenko, responding to Watson Kirkconnell, Lorne Pierce Collection, Queen's University Archives, Kingston, Ontario.
13. This letter is held privately, and I am grateful to the holder for sharing it with me.
14. Reply to Kirkconnell.
15. See John Murray Gibbon, *Canadian Mosaic: The Making of a Northern Nation* (Toronto 1938).
16. My summary of the Ukrainian community reaction to *Men in Sheepskin Coats*, Kirkconnell's role in the controversy, and Lysenko's response is based on materials in the Lorne Pierce Collection.
17. Watson Kirkconnell, "New Canadian Letters," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 17 (1947): 425-9. Kirkconnell was a regular contributor to the *University of Toronto Quarterly*, and since he was regarded as an authority in this emerging field of "New Canadian Letters," there was no challenge to his opinion. Just as Ryerson Press had placed faith in Lysenko's sponsors, the journal would have had little way of knowing whether Kirkconnell was politically prejudiced in his review.
18. Vera Lysenko, "Rooted Sorrow" (unpublished manuscript nd), 200, Vera Lysenko Papers (restricted), National Archives of Canada, Ottawa.
19. See Lorne Pierce Collection.
20. Lysenko, "Rooted Sorrow," 204.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid., 196.
23. Ibid., 197.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid., 200.

# FORTHCOMING

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Volume 17, Numbers 1-2 Summer-Winter 1992

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# **Архівні джерела в Україні до вивчення історії канадців українського походження**

*Леонід Лещенко*

Історія України й Канади тісно пов'язана через долі тих тисяч українців, які з різних причин залишали рідні оселі й направлялись до Канади. Тут, на прибраній батьківщині, починалось їх нове життя, сповнене нелегкою працею, надіями і тривогами, смутком за залишеним краєм. Але продовж усіх років незмінно зберігалася жива ниточка зв'язків між українцями по обидва боки океану.

Столітній ювілей українців у Канаді спонукав дослідників до енергійних пошуків нових матеріалів, у тому числі архівних, для поглибленого висвітлення як самого процесу еміграції, так і життя українців у новому соціально-економічному та політичному довкіллі.

Нами проведено дослідницьку роботу та проаналізовано матеріали низки архівів України, що можуть бути корисними для вчених, які вивчають історію канадців українського походження в міжвоєнну добу. Зокрема ретельно вивчено фонди архівів у Львові, Чернівцях та Києві — Центральний державний історичний архів УРСР у м. Львові (ЦДІА УРСР у Львові), Державний архів Львівської області (ДАЛО), Чернівецький обласний державний архів (ЧОДА) та Центральний архів Жовтневої революції, вищих органів державної влади і органів державного управління Української РСР (ЦДАЖР УРСР)<sup>1</sup>.

Пошук проводився з метою виявлення кількості та оцінки наукової вартості архівних матеріалів, визначення їх достовірності, достатності та придатності для висвітлення історичного процесу. Було важливо також побачити розподіл матеріалів по архівах, покриття ними зазначеної теми. І, нарешті, розробити своєрідний дороговказ для дослідників, що і де шукати.

Найбагатшою виявилася колекція документів та матеріалів у ЦДІА УРСР у Львові. Оскільки в 1920-30-і роки Львів відігравав роль певного адміністративного центру Східної Галичини, що входила до складу

Польщі, то саме тут в архіві відкладалася основна маса матеріалів, сюди йшов потік інформації, що узагальнювалась і направлялася до Варшави. Дослідник може віднайти деякі матеріали, що стосуються еміграції, в Луцьку, Тернополі чи Івано-Франківську. Проте це однотипні джерела, хіба що можна віднайти інші прізвища, назви інших місцевостей-витоків еміграції.

При цьому слід мати на увазі, що розвиток процесу гласности та демократизації поширився певною мірою і на архівну справу. Донедавна таємні фонди (наприклад митрополита Андрея (Шептицького), Осипа Назарука та ін.) тепер стали доступні дослідникам і можуть бути використані поряд з тими, що не зберігалися в спецсховищах і вже очевидно більше відомі науковій громаді.

Одним з найзмістовніших є фонд Товариства «Просвіта» у Львові (фонд 348 тч—раніше частково таємний) за всі роки його існування (1868-1939). Для нас становить інтерес опис 1 т, що містить документацію за 1907-44 рр. Оскільки «Просвіта» мала метою поширення освіти, письменства, піднесення культури українського народу, видання й поширення читанок, творів видатних українських письменників, заснування читалень, хореографічних та драматичних гуртків, то вона неминуче започатковувала й підтримувала зв'язки з українськими канадцями.

У фонді 348 тч, оп. 1 т, що містить матеріали просвітянської Комісії для американських українців, мається 29 справ пов'язаних з Канадою. Частина з них заторкує не тільки Канаду, а й США, Бразилію та інші країни. Тут, у спр. 364, зосереджені списки жертводавців з Торонта, Вінніпеґу та ін. канадських міст на почесний дар для «Просвіти» у Львові, відомості про прилучення нових членів до товариства у 1923-33 рр., при цьому матеріали про Канаду «вкраплені» в інші відомості. Майже такого ж характеру папери у спр. 368, де йдеться також про передплату на календарі та інші видання «Просвіти» (1925-6 рр.). Хоча це не аналітичні матеріали і наукова цінність їх невелика, проте ретельно підібрані квитанції, зазначення прізвищ підписчиків та їх адреси може стати в нагоді тим, хто шукає свою генеалогію або ж описуватиме діяльність «Просвіти» в Канаді (У цій справі канадські матеріали становлять меншість, порівняно з тими, що стосуються США).

Суттєва інформація міститься в спр. 378 (ф. 348, оп. 1 т) про діяльність «протестаційного комітету» в Брендоні, що організовував різні громадські акції з осудом дій польських валстей у Львові в листопаді 1928 р. Кривдження українського люду в Галичині сколихнуло українських канадців. В цьому документі зазначається, що українська громада в Брендоні гуртувалася при двох національних товариствах—читальні «Просвіта» та Народному домі. Називались і форми виву солідарности—проведення 22 листопада 1928 р. спільного віча, що схвалило тексти

телеграм до федерального уряду Канади та Ліги Націй, відправлення протестаційних листів та збірки коштів і 100 дол. на спорудження Українського дому інвалідів у Львові та 45 дол. на Товариство «Просвіта» у Львові з метою, зазначалось у листі, «хоч якось загоїти рани на організмі Батьківщини, бо ми свідомі того, що українське життя в Канаді вдержиться лиш соками матірнього пня».

Досить змістовною є спр. 379 за 1928-39 рр., що налічує 31 стор. текстів і торкається листування з різними українськими військовими формуваннями і політичними організаціями в Канаді. Більшість листів торкаються вступу в ті чи інші об'єднання, висилки членських внесків і грошових пожертв, обміну опублікованими виданнями. Так, Січова організація українців Канади, асоційована з Радою канадських бойскавтів, у грудні 1928 р. повідомляла про бажання вступити в члени Товариства «Просвіта», «котре дає спромогу українцям поза кордоном, котрі живуть поза межами рідної землі, не забувати, що єсть наше рідне, дороге і для нас святе».

З матеріалів цієї ж справи можна довідатись, що на початку 1930 р. в Канаді налічувалося 8 гуртків Української стрілецької громади—УСГ (Ukrainian Legion) і 29 відділів Українського запомогового товариства («Взаємна поміч»), а в Едмонтоні утворилося Товариство «Сокіл». Цікаво, що саме УСГ, обстоюючи патріотичні почуття українців, робила докір про недоцільність реклямувати в листуванні Галичини з Канадою «польські краєвиди та ченстоховські кляштори», а в разі відсутности листівок з українськими краєвидами чи установами, «охотніше приймемо переписку на зовсім чистій листівці».

З листуванням про обмін літературою за 1923-34 рр. (ф. 348, оп. 1, спр. 381) можна бачити коло інтересів українських канадців, які найчастіше замовляли зі Львова такі видання як «Аматорський театр», «Співаник церковний», «Шкільний співаник», «Церковні пісні», «Український впоряд та всі справи для Січей і Соколів», а також нові музичні твори, календарі, «Історія України-Руси» М. Грушевського. З Канади до Галичини направлявся часопис «Канадійський українець», проте було багато скарг, що зі старого краю часописи часто не доходили, на основі чого робилося припущення, що польські власті перешкоджали нормальному проходженню кореспонденції. Тут же маютья листи Товариства опіки над українськими переселенцями ім. св. Рафаїла в Канаді (St. Raphael's Ukrainian Immigrants' Welfare Association of Canada) з порадами тим, хто бажав емігрувати з України до Канади, та інформації про надіслання грошових пожертв і членських внесків «Просвіті». Широко представлене листування «Просвіти» у Львові з управами «Просвіти» у Вінніпегу, Торонті, Форт-Вільямі, Тимінсі, Монреалі, Мічемі, Новому Києві, Редберні, Ріджайні, Смокі-Лейку та інших містах. Мається кореспонденція за 1923-39 рр. від

українських парафій та інших релігійних установ і організацій у Канаді, жіночих товариств, студентського гуртка «Каменярі» в Саскатуні, різних канадських фірм і особливо багато матеріалів (понад 700 стор.) листування з окремими українськими канадцами.

Для дослідників можуть становити інтерес детальні списки жертводавців на благодійні цілі матірнього товариства «Просвіта» у Львові та «Рідної школи» (ф. 348, оп. 1 т, спр. 384) в 1925-9 рр. Зокрема, Український інститут ім. М. Грушевського в Едмонтоні в лютому 1925 р. зібрав 80 дол., і цей же інститут та Українська стрілецька громада в Едмонтоні в березні 1929 р. влаштували концерт (диригент Лазарович) і весь прибуток у сумі 75 дол. також перевели на просвітянські цілі. Тоді ж студенти-вихованці та викладачі Українського інституту ім. П. Могили в Саскатуні організували концерт і збір у сумі 16,65 дол. переслали до Львова.

Певним джерелом для вивчення релігійного життя українців у Канаді є спр. 387 (ф. 348, оп. 1 т), де зібрані листи від українських парафій, монастирів та інших релігійних інституцій у Канаді з проханням (зокрема, з Кіченеру, Мондеру, Ріджайни) вислати ікони, вишиті рушники, церковні книги. І, подібно до інших листів, тут також малися заяви-побажання прилучитися до діяльності львівської «Просвіти».

Цінний документ віднайдено у фонді 372, оп. 1, спр. 17, що являє собою звіт представника ЗУНР у Канаді за 1922-3 рр., обсягом 11 сторінок. В ньому наводяться дані про становище представництва, збірки пожертв, ставлення українсько-канадської громади до ЗУНР, а також міститься інформація Назарука, який здавав свій пост представника ЗУНР.

В цілому просвітянський фонд є однією із найзмістовніших колекцій матеріалів, хоча й вона страждає, як і більшість архівів, фрагментарністю, і може лише доповнювати загальну картину.

Чималу документацію охоплює фонд 206 тч, оп. 1 — «Рідна школа» — Українське педагогічне товариство у Львові, що діяло в 1881-1939 рр. Культурно-освітницький характер організації визначав її мету — видавання книжок та підручників для шкільної молоді, календарів, журналу для педагогів «Учитель», а для дітей «Дзвіночок», обстоювання права навчатись рідною мовою та переведення шкіл з польської на українську мову навчання. Ареалом організації був не тільки Львів, а вся Східня Галичина й Волинь, де засновувалися народні школи (майже в кожному селі), учительські семінарії та гімназії. З 1926 р. вона прибрала назву «Рідна школа» і фактично керувала всім українським приватним шкільництвом і дошкільним вихованням. Оскільки організація трималася на членських внесках та пожертвах від організацій та окремих осіб, то вона надавала особливого значення зв'язкам з Канадою.

Фонд «Рідної школи» (ф. 206 тч, оп. 1, 1881-1939) вже замікрофільмований, що полегшує доступ до нього. Змістовною є спр. 51, що стосується

періоду 1921-9 рр. і представляє собою листування «Рідної школи» з українськими організаціями, товариствами й окремими особами в Канаді. Здебільшого заторкуються питання фінансової допомоги товариству, при цьому невеличкі суми висилалися як безпосередньо до товариства, так і на допомогу жертвам голоду в Україні та на різні благодійні цілі. Можна простежити бажання жертводавців, куди спрямувати їх допомогу. Так, у березні 1923 р. Український червоний хрест у Вінніпегу вислав 250 дол., а в квітні—ще 350 дол. (100 дол.—для студентів Українського тайного університету в Львові, 50 дол.—для українського студентства в Данцігу, 200 дол.—для «Рідної школи»).

В супровідних листах підтримувалося гасло «В рідній школі будучність нашого народу», висловлювалися побажання щодо справедливих і безсторонніх методів розподілу допомоги.

З матеріалів можна довідатися про певну посередницьку гуманітарну роль «Рідної школи», до якої звертались українські канадці з проханням передати їх 5-10 дол. рідним стареньким людям в Україні. Так само деякі кошти Українського червоного хреста спрямовувалися на допомогу бідним і талановитим молодим людям, на книжки й зошити школярам-сиротам, а Наукове товариство ім. Шевченка у Вегревілі, наприклад, направило 20 дол. через «Рідну школу» для приватних гімназій і семінарій у Галичині. Нам здаються дуже важливими саме такі наполегливі плекання і реалізація ідей гуманізму, взаємодопомоги, відчуття підтримки з боку ближнього свого.

Цінність таких пожертв розуміли в «Рідній школі», бо в листі-відповіді до НТШ у Вегревілі в квітні 1923 р. наголошувалася мета до єднання всіх українців, без огляду на їх партійну, чи класову приналежність. І виділялися слова, які звучать актуально і сьогодні: «Хто опанує уми і серця дітвори і молоді для своєї країни—добуде бажану майбутність. А наша дітвора сотками тисяч або виростає на неграмотних рабів або у чужій школі яничариться!»

Ідея необхідності духовного виживання українського народу приходить через більшість документів цього фонду. Так Товариство «Бандурист» при греко-католицькій церкві у Форт-Вільямі висилало 75 дол. на «Рідну школу», усвідомлюючи, що «ворог напосівся на наших братів-українців, цілковито знищити з лиця землі». Можна також бачити, якими методами українсько-канадські об'єднання впливали на громаду з метою підтримки «Рідної школи». На зібраннях в Едмонтоні наприкінці 1925 р. організовувалися вечори-зустрічі з ветеранами визвольних змагань, з січовими стрільцями. В Мондері пожертви збиралися під час різдвяних колядок, у Вегревілі—з нагоди свята «Маланки». В матеріалах наводяться численні прізвиська тих, хто брав участь у зібранні, суть їх виступів, мається список жертводавців з Мелвілу (Саскачеван, січень 1926 р.). Є



списки членів Товариства «Рідна школа» спільні для США й Канади на 95 сторінках, листування з симпатиками товариства в Торонті за 1922-37 рр. (39 стор.), та з різними особами в Канаді за 1930-2 рр. (понад 200 стор.). Загалом цей фонд досить насичений історичним матеріалом.

Драматичним був не тільки життєвий шлях митрополита Андрея (Шептицького), а також його архіву. Зовсім до недавнього часу ці документи й матеріали знаходилися в «спецхрані» і для абсолютної більшості дослідників, а тим більше зарубіжних, навіть важко було встановити, чи вони є взагалі й у якому архіві зберігаються. Тепер доступ до архіву митрополита Андрея в ЦДІА УРСР у Львові відкритий, хоча тимчасово обмежений, бо багато справ невпорядкованих, не мають суцільної пагінації й тому не виключається пропажа деяких частин. Як зазначається у вступі до цієї збірки: «Документи надійшли до ЦДІА УРСР у Львові в 1976 р. обсягом 106 кг розсипу», це очевидно унікальний випадок в історіографії, коли матеріали вимірюються на вагу, хоча їх історична вагомість без сумніву надзвичайно велика.

Архів митрополита Андрея (ф. 358 чт, оп. 3 т) охоплює в цілому період 1907-43 рр. і є важливим джерелом для вивчення історії Української греко-католицької церкви, її зв'язків з парафіями в Канаді. Більшість документації латинською мовою, як також італійською, французькою та українською, при цьому часто питання торкаються всієї Північної Америки. Стосовно періоду 1920-30-х рр. записні книжки, т. II, 1922-1934 (459 стор.), матеріали про становище галичан у Америці в 1904-35 рр. (78 стор.), листи від канадського єпископа Никити (Будки) за 1910-37 рр. (136 стор.) та інших церковних діячів у цілому з Америки (1901-30 рр., 44 стор.), кореспонденція від різних українських організацій, товариств та комітетів у Америці, Аргентині та Канаді про творення об'єднань, налагодження матеріальної допомоги (1910-38 рр., 139 стор.) тощо.

Привертає увагу збірка листів монахинь монастирів «Непорочного Зачаття М. Б.», св. Йосафата і «Сестер служебниць пречистої Діви Марії» в Канаді за 1921-33 рр. обсягом 75 стор., та величезна кількість (до 4000 стор.) письмових послань монахів з Галичини та інших країн. Серед них деінде зустрічаються листи і з Канади, в яких заторкуються питання внутрішніх церковних справ, сповідання, передачі майна на потреби церкви.

Широкий громадський розголос мав візит митрополита Андрея до Канади восени 1921 р., коли він відвідав Вінніпег, Едмонтон та інші міста і заявив, що «його прибуття до Канади має на цілі виєднати конечну поміч для бідних сиріт і людей взагалі у Галичині, яка повістає під мілітарною окупацією поляків».

У фонді можна знайти матеріали (ф. 358 чт, оп. 3 т, спр. 238) про обговорення семи кандидатур на посаду (помічного) єпископа для Канади

в 1926-8 рр. (оо. Теодосій Галушчинський, Іван Бучко, Василь Лаба, Василь Ладика та ін.)

У спр. 239 за 1929-38 рр. містяться матеріали про призначення священика для русинів у Вінніпегу. В дуже цікавому зібранні листів єпископа Никити (спр. 181) йдеться про події, важливі для висвітлення історії церкви в Канаді та суспільно-політичного руху. Зокрема, інформація від березня 1922 р. змальовує стан у церковній сфері в Канаді й у цілому серед тамтешньої української громади. Зважаючи на бажання багатьох емігрувати з Галичини до Канади, в листах у 1924 р. роз'яснюються умови поїздки, висловлюються поради краянам не продавати землю, поки вони не одержать шифкарту, рекомендації священикам також вирушати за океан. За 1926 р. мається інформація про поїздку єпископа Никити до Північної Альберти та Британської Колумбії, а за 1927 р. — про конфронтацію з лівими в Канаді, про створення «Січі» та необхідність підтримання газети «Канадійський українець».

В листі Володимира Біберовича з Вінніпегу від 20 жовтня 1924 р. (спр. 108) мова йшла про створення тут подібного до львівського Товариства св. Рафаїла опіки над українськими імігрантами. «Завданням цих товариств, — зауважував він, — було би не лише опікуватися нашою еміграцією до всіх заморських країв і надавати їй організований характер та спрямувати в найвідповідніші сторони, але також (особливо у відношенні до Канади) старатися усунути певні іміграційні приписи, що дуже утруднюють нашим людям приїзд до певних країв». Висловлювалось прохання до митрополита Андрея надати «моральну поміч» цій бажаній акції.

У цій же справі 108, зпоміж інших, є поздоровлення митрополиту Андреєві 24 грудня 1933 р. від Української стрілецької громади у Вінніпегу. Це документ сповнений глибокого розуміння становища українців та провісництва: «Ми свято віримо, — зазначали писар Д. Герич та містоголова П. Штепа, — що Всевишній вислухає просьбу нашу, нас скитальців, викинутих з-під власних родинних стріх ворогом та лихою долею ген за безмежний океан, які не докінчили ще розпочатого діла, які все ще ждуть тільки на поклик сурми. На поклик цей стане весь Український Нарід, враз із своїми добрими провідниками — пасторами та скаже своє могуче слово: «Хочу бути господарем власної землі!» Тоді на горі Льва-Города замає синьожовтий прапор, а могучий голос Св. Юра і Св. Софії проголосять всему світу, що воскресла *вільна, соборна, незалежна Українська держава*».

Багата збірка матеріалів українсько-галицького письменника і громадського діяча Осипа Назарука (ф. 359 чт, оп. 1), яка також стала тепер відкритою для вивчення. Більшість документації становлять публікації автора або ж чернетки статей доби визвольних змагань та

одразу після неї. Цінні роздуми про можливість і доцільність створення збройних сил України (ця тема й сьогодні надто актуальна), про встановлення справедливих, етнічно виправданих кордонів України, про контури української зовнішньої політики. Ці міркування друкувалися в «Бюлетені гетьманської управи» (на правах рукопису) в 1929-30-х рр. і зберігаються в архіві. Згідно з указом президента Євгена Петрушевича Назарук у вересні 1922 р. був призначений представником ЗУНР до Канади. Як прибічник гетьманців він відіграв важливу роль під час поїздки до США й Канади для «створення і поширення гетьманських Січей у З'єданих Штатах і Канаді». Проте, за повідомленням «Бюлетеня Гетьманської управи» (№3, 8 лютого 1930 р.), Назарук був згодом виключений з лав за відхід від лінії гетьманського руху в керівництві католицькою газетою «Нова зоря» (спр. 9).

У «Щоденнику» Назарука за 1928 р. можна знайти записи про внутрішні чвари між газетами «Канадійський українець» та «Січ». Він високо оцінював січові організації, зазначаючи в «Щоденнику»: «Січі в Канаді—найрозумніша лінія праці, яку можна було взяти. Маса досі ще не потягнули, але гуртки, які є, солідні ... На рік, на два провід з Чикаго був би дуже бажаний, бо опріч гуртка в Йорктоні й околиці, Січі в Канаді нема ...» Він виступав проти внутрішніх чвар в українській громаді, обстоював єдність українського народу з метою національного відродження, яке вважав можливим досягти тільки через гетьманат. Не всі поділяли його надмірного звеличення монархічної ідеї, проте, описуючи поїздку Данила Скоропадського до США й Канади у вересні 1937 р.—січні 1938 р., Назарук об'єктивно змальовував безпрезидентну урочистість зустрічей «гетьманського сина» українською громадою, мерами міст та представниками багатьох місцевих організацій. «Такої почеси,—робив він висновок,—не зазнали українці на чужині від найвизначніших чужих людей ще ніколи перед тим ...» (спр. 82).

Фонд Назарука корисний для вивчення зв'язків між Галичиною й Канадою, для зіставлення різних концепцій побудови Української Держави і розвитку її відносин з іншими країнами світу. Зберігся він не повністю, включає рукопис праці «Чорне море—Босфор—Дарданели в історії України» (1933 р., 84 стор.), статті «Де шукати джерела нашої катастрофи» (18 стор.), цикл статей про гігієну нації—статтю «Вождівство навиворіт» (88 стор.), листи до Скоропадських (Павла, Єлизавети та Данила, 1935-9 рр., бл. 300 стор.). Серед документів є листи голови «Союзу Української євангельської реформованої церковної старшини» Івана Винничука до священиків у Канаді та Швейцарії (1931-2 рр., 7 стор.), а також матеріали про діяльність ЗУНР (1919-24 рр., 177 стор.) та Українського союзу гетьманців-державників (1920-39 рр. в двох томах, 360 стор.)—постанови, протоколи, бюлетені, листування тощо. Фонд Назарука

ще чекає свого дослідника.

Для майбутніх досліджень у ЦДІА УРСР у Львові є й інші важливі фонди, наприклад, Наукового товариства ім. Шевченка (ф. 309), особливо листування його керівника Володимира Гантюка з організаціями й установами в Канаді, фонди творчих, мистецьких асоціацій та спортивних (руханкових) об'єднань тощо.

Державний архів Львівської області (ДАЛО) володіє достий важливими матеріалами, що переважно стосуються умов та масштабів виїзду українців до інших країн. При цьому слід мати на увазі, що робота впорядкування матеріалів нині триває, отже не всі вони можуть бути віднайдені в описах.

Найзмістовнішим є фонд відділу праці й громадської опіки Львівського воєвідського управління (фонд 1). В ньому, наприклад, можна ознайомитися з розпорядженням від 20 лютого 1923 р. до всіх повітових старостів про порядок допущення емігрантів до Канади (ф. 1, оп. 11, спр. 1210, переклад з польської мови). Повідомлялося, що у зв'язку з вичерпанням контингенту емігрантів на виїзд до США на 1923 р., передбачалося зростання еміграційного руху до Канади. Встановлювалося, що можуть емігрувати такі категорії населення:

1. *Рільники*, які мають готівку на придбання ферми. За рільника вважався той, хто мав документи про працю в сільському господарстві, розумівся на рільництві й мав принаймні 2000 дол. на придбання ферми.
2. *Сільськогосподарські робітники* з контрактом, що забезпечував роботу в Канаді. Сільськогосподарським робітником уважався той, хто міг довести, що вже працював на землі в краю.
3. *Жінки — домові працівниці*, які укладали контракт чи інший договір, що забезпечував їм службу в Канаді.
4. *Жінки, діти до 18 років*, батьки яких приїхали до Канади до рідних, котрі могли їх прийняти й забезпечити їхнє життя.

Крім того, кожен емігрант повинен був уміти читати й писати принаймні однією мовою, в т.ч. єврейською. Повідомлялося, що визначенням придатності до виїзду займався канадський представник з питань еміграції в Гданську, а також Канадське бюро, що мало відкритись у Варшаві. Від емігрантів відтепер не вимагалася наявність 250 дол. при прибутті до Канади.

Варто зазначити, матеріали цього архіву здебільшого не виділяють спеціально відомостей про еміграцію до Канади; дані наводяться разом, по країнах, часто в спільних таблицях, отже потрібен пошук по різних матеріалах для здобуття інформації саме про канадський напрямок

еміграції.

Змістовна справа 3833 (ф. 1, оп. 33)—звіт державного управління посередництва праці про кількість робітників та службовців, які емігрували до Канади в 1928-9 рр. Так, маються статистичні цифри про видачу закордонних паспортів протягом 1928 р.; дані про умови виїзду; організацію навчання певним професіям тих, хто подав заяву на еміграцію та відомості про те, які пароплавні лінії перевозили; кількість емігрантів; число тих, хто володів кваліфікацією, але ще не одержав певного місця в контингенті; кількість тих, хто очікував кваліфікації; кількість тих, хто зголосився на одержання професії. Наведено також підсумкові дані про виїзд у 1928 р. по воєвідствах: у Львівському—2650 осіб (у т.ч. 125 родин), Станиславівському—900 (у т.ч. 65 родин), Тернопільському—1300 (у т.ч. 75 родин) і Волинському—750 (у т.ч. 240 родин).

У спр. 923 хоча й не присутні матеріали безпосередньо про Канаду, проте циркуляри і розпорядження Львівського воєвідського управління за 1929-35 рр. з питань вербування робітників для виїзду за кордон та опіки над земляками в еміграції можуть сприяти висвітленню загальної картини еміграції та умов виїзду.

В ДАЛО—у Фонді Дирекції поліції у Львові віднайдено повідомлення польського консульства у Вінніпегу до Міністерства закордонних справ Польщі про діяльність єпископа Никити серед українських емігрантів греко-католиків від 14 грудня 1922 р. (ф. 271, оп. 1, спр. 819). В цьому таємному документі містився короткий опис діяльності єпископа Никити з часу прибуття його до Канади у 1912 р. з деталями про те, яку він одержував платню від австрійського консула. Характеризувався як умілий організатор Греко-католицької церкви, який гостро виступав проти самозваних священиків, обстоював уведення в народних школах «русинської» мови. Особливо наголошувалося, що він є прихильником митрополита Андрея й виступає проти Польщі, за відокремлення Східної Галичини. Хоча при одержанні польської візи для поїздки до Польщі він визнав, що розв'язкою питання могла б стати «автономія Східної Галичини».

В цьому ж архіві зберігаються матеріали про еміграцію безробітних Львова за кордон у 1924 р. (59 стор.), про субсидії для набору сезонних робітників до Німеччини та Канади з 1930 р. (68 стор.) та інші відомості.

Чернівецький обласний державний архів (ЧОДА) володіє загалом небагатою документацією щодо еміграції до Канади чи зв'язків з нею у 1920-30-і рр. Дослідник має бути готовий до того, що абсолютна більшість матеріалів написана румунською мовою, деякі—німецькою, а лиш окремі (передусім заяви селян)—українською.

Цифри поодинокі еміграції до Канади наводяться у фонді 37 (Окружне статистичне управління Чернівців) про еміграцію та іміграцію населення Буковини в 1921-2 рр. Як правило, серед статистичних даних



канадський напрямок еміграції не виділяється, а зазначається в цілому як «еміграція до Америки». Так, у фондах префектур Кіцманського повіту (ф. 16, оп. 1, спр. 253) за 1923-5 рр., Чернівецького (ф. 15, оп. 1, спр. 5343)—за 1925 р., Заставнівського (ф. 18, оп. 1, спр. 1739) за 1924 р. мова йде про загальні списки тих людей, хто емігрував за кордон.

Щодо умов еміграції, то становлять інтерес документи Окружної шкільної інспекції Буковини (ф. 213, оп. 1, спр. 2546) від 1925 р. про дозвіл виїхати за кордон учителям початкових та середніх шкіл, так само як і постанова від 1927 р. (ф. 213, оп. 1, спр. 3346) про залучення викладачів до пропаганди проти масової еміграції до Бразилії та Канади мешканців Буковини. В матеріалах префектури чернівецького повіту за 1921-6 рр. (ф. 15 сч, оп. 1) мається достатньо багато індивідуальних заяв українців, що висловлювали бажання емігрувати до Канади. У фонді примарії комуни Кисілець Чернівецького повіту за 1928-33-і рр. (ф. 59, оп. 1, спр. 119) зберігся список тих, хто мав намір виїхати до Канади і більшість з них мали українські прізвища. За 1928 р. маються повні дані щодо еміграції з Чернівецького повіту.

Недоліком будьяких «сухих» відомостей статистики є відсутність пояснення причин тих чи інших процесів, проте і для населення Північної Буковини мотиви еміграції міжвоєнного часу збігалися з тими, що спонукали виїзди зі Східної Галичини. При роботі з цими архівними матеріалами дослідникам варто звернути увагу на справи про видачу закордонних паспортів для виїзду до Канади.

І, нарешті, архівосховища ЦДАЖР УРСР у Києві також мають певні матеріали, що стосуються нашої теми. Як відомо, у 1920-30-і рр. з Наддніпрянської України еміграція повністю припинилася, поїздки маленьких делегацій чи окремих письменників або діячів культури до Канади не міняли загальної картини. Україна опинилася в тісних лепцатах тоталітарної, жорстокої диктатури. І навіть про велику трагедію голодомору в Україні на початку 1930-х рр. світ не мав повної інформації.

Проте на початку 1920-х рр. розгорнувся інтенсивний рух за рееміграцію в Україну. Декілька сот українських канадців вирішили повернутися в Україну, утворити сільськогосподарські комуни і сприяти побудові нового життя.

В ЦДАЖР УРСР відкладалася певна документація про умови приїзду комунарів, їх розташування, організацію праці. До речі, всі ці матеріали складені виключно російською мовою. Абсолютна їх більшість сконцентрована у фонді Всеукраїнського Центрального Виконавчого Комітету УРСР (ВУЦВК УРСР—ф. 1, оп. 2).

Так, у доповідній записці (спр. 935) Народного комісаріату землеробства «Про комуни американських емігрантів» від 1923 р., направлений на розгляд Ради Народних Комісарів УРСР, зазначалось, що на території

України в той час діяло дев'ять комун. При цьому наводились дані про їх місцезнаходження (Одеська, Київська, Катеринославська та Подільські губернії), кількість землі в користуванні, забезпеченість машинами, сільськогосподарським реманентом та робочою силою. У деяких комунах діяли спільно українці з Канади і США, подекуди до них прилучались і місцеві жителі.

Діяльність комун періодично обстежувалась комісіями Наркомзему УРСР та Ради праці й оборони з Москви. В матеріалах маютья висновки про в цілому ефективну працю комунарів, проте зазначались і недоліки, що виявлялись у зрівняльній оплаті праці, малому впливові матеріальних стимулів, ускладненому адаптуванні до незвичних умов колективного господарювання при гегемонізмі командно-адміністративної системи.

У ф. 559, оп. 1, спр. 86 містяться відомості про Мигаївську комуну поблизу Одеси, що за свої успіхи дістала назву «Першої Канадської зразкової агрокомуні ім. Леніна». За 1927 р. тут маютья протоколи, довідки, цифри фінансового стану, детальний опис господарств. У спр. 56 вміщені подібні матеріали про комуну ім. Комінтерну Каховського району Херсонської округи. Обидві комуні брали участь у конкурсі кращих колективних господарств.

Проте про інші комуні в архіві маютья лише фрагментарні відомості, практично немає матеріалів, які б висвітлювали не виробництво, а щоденне життя простих людей.

Привертає увагу постанова РНК УРСР (на той час таємне) від 31 січня 1924 р. про припинення подальшої реєміграції і створення нових комун (ф. 1, оп. 2, спр. 2335). Постанова мотивувалася необхідністю збереження земельного фонду степових губерній України для майбутнього переселення працівників з північних та центральних губерній України. Але очевидно, що в основі лежали політичні міркування.

На жаль, у цьому фонді не відкладалася документація про подальшу трагічну долю цих комун, що надалі перетворювались у колгоспи та радгоспи, і більшості самих комунарів, які зазнали поневірянь, голоду та репресій у 1930-і рр. Майбутнім дослідникам ще належить встановити всі імена українсько-канадських комунарів, що жили і працювали в Україні.

Таким чином, на основі оцінки й аналізу матеріалів провідних архівів України, що стосуються історії українських канадців у 1920-30-і рр., можна зробити такі висновки:

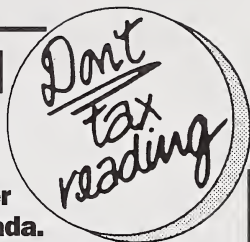
1. У цілому архіві є важливим джерелом для дослідження історії української еміграції до Канади в міжвоєнну добу, життя та праці українців у прибраній батьківщині—Канаді; при цьому найвагомішу частку матеріалів має Центральний державний історичний архів у Львові;

2. Практично в усіх архівосховищах маються особливо цінні відомості про історію зв'язків між Україною та Канадою—культурно-освітніх, гуманітарних, церковних;
3. Необхідно дбати про пошук і збереження нових матеріалів, що маються в Україні, передусім у приватних колекціях, у місцевих освітніх закладах, у церковних парафіях.

## **Примітка**

1. Після 24 серпня 1991 р. назви деяких архівів змінилися. Так, Центральний державний історичний архів УРСР у м. Львові став Центральним державним історичним архівом України у м. Львові, а Центральний державний архів Жовтневої революції, вищих органів державної влади і органів державного управління Української РСР (ЦДАЖР УРСР) перейменовано на Центральний архів вищих органів державної влади і органів державного управління України (ЦДА України). (ред.)

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## Book Reviews

Basil Rotoff, Roman Yereniuk, and Stella Hryniuk. *Monuments to Faith: Ukrainian Churches in Manitoba*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1990. Pp. ix, 197. Maps, illustrations.

*Monuments to Faith: Ukrainian Churches in Manitoba* is a highly visual volume which promises to step beyond the simple local history project with the sole purpose of naive documentation. It was made possible because of the thoughtful work of the Manitoba East European Heritage Society, which in 1983 initiated a documentation of the Ukrainian Byzantine-rite churches of the province. Against the background of chapters on "The Sources of Ukrainian Church Architecture" and "The Styles of Ukrainian Church Architecture," the authors explore the extraordinary body of architectural structures that mark the landscape of Manitoba and much of the prairies. Chapters are devoted to the variations in architecture found in Manitoba, contemporary Ukrainian churches, and the architects, builders, and painters (some iconographers) whose labour of love has provided the Ukrainian community with its central institutions.

The volume provides a brief but useful introduction to the various styles of Ukrainian church architecture from the Kiev region in Eastern Ukraine and from the following regions in Western Ukraine: Ternopil, Lemko, Boyko, Hutsul, and Bukovyna. Thirty-two Manitoba churches are then introduced to illustrate the presence of these regional architectural types in the province. A brief descriptive paragraph sketches the history of each church and comments on the materials used in its construction. An additional twenty churches are used to show what the authors argue are the "Manitoba variations" on the Ukrainian tradition. These variations, they suggest, are two corner pilasters tacked onto the front of the church flanking the entrance, and a three-tower pattern with an additional tower forming a central dome. This consideration of the Manitoba churches is completed by illustrating eight churches of contemporary architectural design.

The book includes an interesting chapter on the "Major Manitoba Ukrainian Artists" involved with the building and decorating of churches. Architects such as the Reverend Philip Ruh, Victor Deneka, and Radoslav Zuk are discussed and some of the churches they designed identified. Master builders (Michael's all) Sawchuk, Swystun, Tychaliz, and Yanchynski, and artists Theodore Baran, Dmytro Bartoshuk, Sviatoslav Hordynski, Roman Kowal, Jacob Maydanyk, Leo Mol, Olga Moroz, Vera Semchuk, and Hnat Sych are catalogued with a brief biography in the manner of "Who's Who."

Appendix 1, called "Guide to Ukrainian Churches," introduces the uninitiated reader to the symbolic world of the Eastern Christian temple. While perhaps useful, it shows an unfortunate lack of grounding in the subject matter and so perpetuates as many misunderstandings as it addresses. Much of what is said is



unclear if not misleading.

Appendices 2 and 3 provide an interesting conceptual scheme of the evolution of architectural styles and a useful listing of the works of the architects, builders, and artists discussed earlier in the volume. Appendix 4 lists the names and works of numerous other architects, builders, and artists. This admirable list must certainly be close to complete and it is one of the fine fruits of the documentation project.

The book has a rich body of illustrations, with numerous black-and-white and a few colour photographs. It is a bit over designed and the predominant use of bold type-faces, heavily leaded, detracts from what ought to have been a graceful volume. What could so easily have been lovely has a textbook feel that, while not unpleasant, is a bit unfortunate. The text would also have fared better in the hands of a knowledgeable editor. There is a forced regard for the "art," for the "very special," the "wonderful," and the "typical" character of the subject matter, which is indeed marvellous and does not need this precious treatment. No editor who was awake would have the text say that a set of churches simply "disappeared" when they were so clearly destroyed. There is nothing particularly mysterious about a community tearing down what in retrospect was the key building embodying cultural memory. Also, in a number of places, specific content is hinted at while the necessary details are left in the wings crying out for articulation. Throughout, the book's strength is in its art and historical connections. Its weakness is a lack of substantive interpretive concepts rooted in the Orthodox liturgical understanding of this rich project.

For all that, the authors have moved us ahead in providing a body of source materials for the consideration of the life of the church in western Canada.

David J. Goa  
Provincial Museum of Alberta

Orest Martynowych. *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991. Pp. xxix, 562. Maps, tables, illustrations.

The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies commissioned this study by Orest Martynowych to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of the arrival of Ukrainians in Canada. Intended to be as comprehensive as possible, it canvasses the Ukrainian Canadian experience across the country, but inevitably the prairie provinces that attracted the bulk of the newcomers receive the most attention. Since Martynowych carries their story only to 1924, it is almost solely a study of those first-generation immigrants who arrived before 1914, tracing their history to the eve of the Railways Agreement when a second wave of newcomers arrived. Within these parameters, Martynowych surveys a wide range of topics. Few ethnic groups in Canada have received as much scholarly attention as the Ukrainians and the author had an impressive list of books, articles, and theses at

his disposal, but the result is no mere synthesis of existing knowledge. Martynowych also conducted much original research in a wide variety of sources, some previously untapped. The resulting massive tome provides the best and most complete survey of early Ukrainian Canadian history ever written, combining many familiar aspects of the group's experience with new information and fresh perspectives.

The book opens with panoramic views of Canada and the Austrian provinces of Galicia and Bukovyna on the eve of immigration, followed by a close examination of the immigration and settlement process. There are chapters on the living and working conditions of rural settlers and the less studied frontier labourers and city dwellers. While the immigrants experienced a universally spartan and harsh life at first, Martynowych demonstrates how the economic progress of some farmers and businessmen soon led to class divisions among the immigrants. The prejudice and discrimination that greeted them, all on arrival and intensified greatly during and after the Great War also receive due attention. While this familiar ground is well ploughed in other studies, Martynowych pays more attention to the often ignored French Catholic vision of assimilating the immigrants. This topic sets up chapters on religious controversy that introduce the major actors in Martynowych's story—the male intelligentsia of editors, clergymen, teachers, and professionals who attempted to shape and direct the immigrant community. Rejecting both English and French ideas of assimilation, the Ukrainian intelligentsia sought to impose its own version, which involved bringing modern, progressive ideas to a peasant society and learning English without abandoning the Ukrainian language and its literary tradition.

Caught up in various old-world controversies, the intelligentsia arrived deeply divided, at first between the conservative pan-Slavic Russophiles, the Ukrainian nationalists, and the anti-clerical radicals who aimed for deeper economic and social reforms. Martynowych traces the evolution of these various groups into new factions as they reacted to developments in Ukraine and to the contentious issues of religion, education, and wartime policies in Canada. Conflicting groups of intelligentsia frequently attacked each other in a wildly exaggerated and often libelous manner, but Martynowych skilfully navigates through a maze of contradictory sources to offer a balanced and objective assessment of their goals and activities.

It is difficult to fault the author for emphasizing the intelligentsia and their many quarrels, for he warns the reader in the introduction that he will do so. Furthermore, the intelligentsia established the institutional structures of Ukrainian Canadian life: churches, schools, reading clubs, drama societies, cooperatives, labour organizations. Finally, the available literary sources inevitably focus on this group since the illiterate Ukrainian majority left no written records. Even so, the reader is sometimes left to question the significance of the intelligentsia. By Martynowych's own calculation, it numbered no more than 250 individuals by World War One, and although its membership grew thereafter, one wonders at various points in the text how much influence they wielded over the immigrant masses. In places Martynowych becomes so caught up in their disputes that he does not discuss their relationship with the peasants at all. When he does do so,

he admits that the peasants often regarded the intelligentsia with indifference or suspicion, if not outright hostility.

Although his examination of the peasants and their mentality is more limited, Martynowych offers a frank assessment of the less romantic aspects of peasant culture. It was a life rife with ignorance, superstition, violence, drunkenness, feuds, envy, fatalism, and a multitude of prejudices, including anti-semitism. The need to practise the correct rituals explains peasant involvement in the religious disputes of the intelligentsia, not theological or ethical concerns. Martynowych argues that the peasant mentality handicapped Ukrainian immigrants in numerous ways, and must bear much responsibility for their limited economic progress. Although these observations are instructive, one wishes for still more on the peasants and their outlook in the book, even though the difficulty of the research involved can be appreciated. Learning more about them will no doubt require imaginative investigation that goes beyond the literary records explored here to include more oral histories, mass data, and material culture.

If Martynowych seems critical of peasant culture, he is scarcely more appreciative of the intelligentsia. They must not, he insists, be confused with intellectuals. Little advanced beyond illiteracy themselves, many barely understood many of the ideas they debated and espoused, and (although Martynowych does not make the point explicitly) their bickering often resembled the unenlightened peasant behaviour they professed to disdain. Thus Martynowych does not paint a picture of either peasants or intelligentsia that Ukrainian Canadian readers will like, but it is a refreshingly honest corrective to the old "celebration of achievements" approach and to the newer "exploited victim" approach in which every difficulty of a social group under study is conveniently blamed on someone else.

With its focus on sharp class, religious, and ideological divisions, Martynowych's study is essentially an internal examination of the Ukrainian Canadian community. As such, it does not directly address a fundamental question about immigrant experiences generally. How does an immigrant group accommodate itself to a new society? What is retained from the old-country culture and why? What is given up and why? Martynowych does not entirely ignore such questions, but neither are they central to the study. Assimilation is not studied here in terms of measured change, but rather as an intellectual issue to be debated by contending groups. To be fair, however, any study of cultural adjustment and accommodation should also involve a close look at the Canadian born, but given the author's chronological limitations, they are not the prime subjects of this book.

If Martynowych does not provide a model for the study of ethnic accommodation, and if his attention seems unduly focused on the small intelligentsia minority, he has nonetheless performed a monumental scholarly service. The book's reference value should endure for long years. Its account of leading individuals, groups, and institutions; its balanced analysis of internal divisions and disputes; the many maps and tables that chart Ukrainian settlement, population, and economic progress; and the detailed footnotes, bibliographic

essay, and index all make it a compulsory addition to the bookshelf of anyone interested in Ukrainian Canadian history.

Paul Voisey  
University of Alberta

Myron B. Kuropas. *The Ukrainian Americans: Roots and Aspirations, 1884-1954*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991. Pp. xxix, 534. Illustrations.

This book, based on a doctoral dissertation completed for the University of Chicago in 1974, is remarkable for the clarity with which it presents the very complex wants of the numerous religious and ideological factions which have characterized the organizational life of Ukrainians in the United States. In some respects, it does for the latter what Orest Martynowych's master's study in 1978, "Village Radicals and Peasant Immigrants: The Social Roots of Factionalism among Ukrainian Immigrants in Canada, 1896-1918," did for the Ukrainians in Canada. Kuropas describes how the Rusyns or Ruthenians, most of whom before 1914 settled in the eastern-seaboard states (85 per cent in Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey), gradually evolved from one common ethnocultural origin into two main groups—the Ukrainians (who came mainly from Galicia) and the Carpatho-Ukrainians (the Transcarpathians, who cast off their earlier Hungarian ties for a separate Ukrainian ethnic identity in America). Both were religiously Greek Catholics (Uniates who practised the Byzantine or Eastern rite) who had to contend with two more groups of Ruthenians, the Russophiles, many of whom assumed a Russian ethnic identity in America and joined the Russian Orthodox church, and the Bukovynians, who generally flocked to the same Russian Orthodox church initially and then tended to join the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox church that emerged in Ukraine in 1917-18.

One may conclude therefore that the religious loyalties among the Rusyns who settled in the United States were initially primary, and Kuropas's book is first and foremost a superb account of "the process by which the religiocultural identity of some Ruthenians was transformed into a Ukrainian ethnonational identity" (xxiii) by about 1920. Secondly, it describes in very interesting terms how that fragile Ukrainian American identity was subsequently buffeted by the struggle of Ukrainian socialists, communists, monarchists, and nationalists for ideological and organizational supremacy.

Equally well presented is what, for Kuropas, is clearly the centrepiece of his work, namely, the defamatory impact of the notorious Dies Committee, the brainchild of Congressman Martin Dies of Texas, formed in May 1938 to investigate un-American activities in a political climate swirling with communist and fascist propaganda. The committee became the lightning rod for a variety of pro-communist and pro-Soviet organizations, which used it to attack as fascists all who opposed communism and criticized the Soviet Union. Among the strongest opponents of the Soviet communist regime were, of course, the monarchist and Nationalist Ukrainian groups, and it was not long before their main



organizations found themselves before the committee: the United Hetman Organization (the *hetmantsi*) and the even more militant Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine (the American affiliate of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists or OUN in Europe), both formed by the political émigrés who constituted the majority of the second (or interwar) wave of Ukrainian immigrants to the United States. As in Canada during the 1920s and 1930s, the Ukrainian communists gladly entered the fray against their nationalist brothers, because the latter, as "fascists," had vilified the free, democratic (and, of course, happy) Soviet Ukraine. For a conservative whose dislike of social and liberal democrats is rooted in an intense anti-communism, Kuropas's account of this very difficult period is remarkably restrained, though it is clearly intended to expose the perfidy of the "left-lib" forces in American society and to exonerate the good name of the Ukrainian ethnic group therein. Had the author, however, included some of the historical factors which have made committees like that of Congressman Dies (and later of Senator Joseph McCarthy) acceptable in America, the account would have been even more telling. After all, America's wider society is motivated by much more than a mere suspicion of political subversion in its impatience with cultural and ideological differences, especially among its linguistic and ethnic minorities.

Other notable aspects of the book are its excellent sections on the origins and nature of the three waves of Ukrainian immigration, each with lucid accounts of the old-world circumstances as background; on the legacies of choir conductor Alexander Koshetz and dance instructor Vasyl Avramenko; and on the various organizations and institutions (reading rooms, *prosvita* or enlightenment societies, women's societies, cultural enterprises, youth clubs, heritage schools, newspapers, and magazines) involved in the process of maintaining and transmitting the ethnocultural heritage from generation to generation. "In the end," concludes the author, "the bitter political and religious struggles which characterized the 1920s and 1930s took their toll. The youth, especially those whose Ukrainian sentiment was marginal to begin with, became 'American.' Other youth, disenchanted with the constant infighting among Ukrainians, became organizationally 'inactive.' By the early 1940s, the verdict at least of some was that '...we were dying'" (387), and, as in Canada, had it not been for the third immigration wave after the Second World War, the end would have been near. With the benefit of hindsight, one wonders, however, in view of the great maze of Ukrainian American organizations which continue to pull in different directions, the end has not merely been postponed. Perhaps, in time, Kuropas will follow up on the promise held out in his last sentence of "another book" at "another time" and furnish that "full story" (406) which alone can assess the contemporary situation. Judging from the book under review, it could be quite a study.

Although the book has no major weaknesses, it is characterized by an excess of footnotes (many of which could have been combined), of lengthy quotations (many of which could have been paraphrased), and of numbered listings (1, 2, 3, etc.) of facts, factors, and developments—all likely the result of the dissertation format which was not sufficiently dismantled. It is strange also to see the sharply reduced use of footnotes in the epilogue, which gives the latter the appearance of an afterthought. Otherwise the book is well rounded out with thirty-five



interesting illustrations, a brief foreword by the Ukrainian historian Orest Subtelny, and an extensive bibliography and carefully prepared index.

Manoly R. Lupul  
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Bohdan S. Kordan and Peter Melnycky, eds. *In the Shadow of the Rockies: Diary of the Castle Mountain Internment Camp*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991. Pp. 144. Illustrations.

Events which loom large in the life of a community—such as the internment of Ukrainian Canadians during World War One—often take on mythic proportions as they become the *causes célèbres* of future generations. When that happens, the people who lived through such events may be subsumed within the collective consciousness of a community whose past is constructed to reflect present values. This diary of events at the Castle Mountain Internment Camp from 13 July 1915 to 7 August 1917 brings those events back to the scale of the everyday and the personal by chronicling, in painstaking detail, the daily round of drudgery that regulated internment camp existence.

The book is beautifully produced. Its many illustrations, including panoramas of the landscape in and around the camp and scenes of the prisoners and guards as they carried out their respective duties, bring a sense of reality to the otherwise dispassionate account of a daily routine in which men awoke, were fed, and, weather permitting, trudged to work sites to build the roads that would allow other Canadians access to the recreational activities of the Rocky Mountains. Some days, the terse entry was simply that “nothing unusual occurred”; other days, the temperature fell below -20 degrees and no work was done. “Prisoners of war” were interned or released, or escaped, with only a numerical identification to mark these momentous events in their lives. On Sunday, 24 December 1916, “prisoner of war No. 631 committed suicide about 3 p.m.” (112). From the footnotes, we learn that he was George Luka Budak, a Romanian.

The editors have done a superb job of embellishing the sparse text. A 21-page introduction sets the context with a brief history of the internment and a description of the conditions which the 660 internees endured. The footnotes, which comprise more text than the diary itself, provide a wealth of detailed explanation and expand upon glimpses of life caught by the officers who logged the entries. Each footnote is meticulously referenced, primarily based on extensive use of the National Archives of Canada but also utilizing secondary sources.

From the pages of this text we learn what actually happens to people who fall victim to the excesses of political expediency. During World War One, in order to cast its net widely and ensure that no former subject of an enemy state could bring any harm to his or her adopted country, the Canadian government used the sweeping powers of the War Measures Act to interrupt the lives and curtail the freedoms of more than 7,000 of the country's residents, many of whom

were of Ukrainian origin. The War Measures Act has been used several times since, most notably in the uprooting and dispossession of the entire population of Japanese Canadians between 1941 and 1949, and as recently as 1970 in the "October Crisis" roundup of individuals in Quebec suspected of a retrospectively bogus subversion. The War Measures Act no longer exists, having been replaced with emergency legislation which at least requires that political powers stop to think of the consequences before condemning innocent people to have their human rights cast aside because of imagined or apprehended threats to security that may be no more than the expression of old prejudices. We are a better country for its demise. We will also be a better country when the excesses of the past are recognized and understood, and when the consequences of such excesses are weighed against the losses to our national fabric when any one of our own is unjustly treated. This book is an important contribution to such understanding. It is also a fitting tribute to those unjustly treated.

Audrey Kobayashi  
McGill University

Vera Lysenko. *Yellow Boots*. Second edition. With an introduction by Alexandra Kryvoruchka. Edmonton: NeWest Press and Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1992. Pp. 355. (First edition Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1954).

This handsomely bound and carefully presented second edition of Vera Lysenko's classic novel of the Ukrainian Canadian immigrant experience will be welcomed by a wide variety of readers. Previously difficult to come by, though long extolled as a landmark work by a relatively small circle of scholars interested in either western Canadian fiction or in the history of prairie settlement, *Yellow Boots* has at last, in this new edition, been made easily accessible. It will be of particular interest not only to western Canadianists and those interested in the fictionalization of immigrant and/or female experience, but also to those simply interested in a "good read."

Given the current post-modern emphasis on blurred genres and marginal voices, *Yellow Boots*, though first published nearly thirty years ago, may be uncannily resonant for many readers. One of the first explorations of the Ukrainian Canadian experience, and the work of a writer doubly marginalized by ethnicity and gender, *Yellow Boots* is not easily categorized. Most obviously, it is a rather typical immigrant novel, a kind of female *bildungsroman* about the coming of age of second-generation Lilli Landash, who is torn between her parents' peasant culture and the culture of the wider Canadian society. Both damaged and energized by the inevitable and painful clash of the two, Lilli ultimately becomes the vehicle for a creative resolution, one that enables her to weld selected elements of the old world with those of the new. *Yellow Boots* can also be read as a feminist fiction: a story of the oppression of a sensitive young woman by her tyrannical father and by larger patriarchal structures, particularly economic ones,

and of her ultimate triumph over these forces, through determination and creativity.

But *Yellow Boots*, more than anything else, is an historical fiction. Indeed, in her foreword to the novel, Lysenko acknowledges the primacy of her historical and closely related folkloristic purpose, saying: "For all those whose forefathers suffered the anguish which the immigrant must endure when he is called on to surrender his ancestral rites, this story of a girl's search for music is offered as a reminder of their lost inheritance, and to preserve for them something of the old beauty" (ix). Readers will not be surprised to learn from Alexandra Kryvoruchka's helpful introduction that Lysenko's first book, *Men in Sheepskin Coats* (1947), was a history of Ukrainian settlement in Canada, the first written in English.

With a historian's sensitivity to watershed years, Lysenko begins her tale in 1929, thereby becoming a chronicler and sensitive interpreter, albeit through fiction, of a major transition period in Canadian prairie history. The interwar years, and those immediately following the Second World War, witnessed a major shift from rural to urban life, and from a Canadian and prairie identity defined primarily by its British connection to one that would be increasingly and irrevocably defined by a remarkable heterogeneity. In *Yellow Boots* Lysenko has given us not only a compelling tale but also her insight into the significance of the period and the events she fictionalizes—her understanding of the strengths and flaws (and their inseparability) of both the era that was passing and the one that was being born. In her character, Lilli Landash, new-world singer of old songs, Lysenko has bequeathed to a variety of contemporary readers a significant and profoundly relevant reminder of the beauty and value of synthesis.

Tamara Palmer Seiler  
University of Calgary

Gloria Kupchenko Frolick. *Anna Veryha*. Don Mills: Maxwell Macmillan Canada, 1992. Pp. 132.

As a non-fiction writer I have often mulled over the question of the relative status of fiction and non-fiction in literary culture. I have come to the probably unscientific conclusion that, to young or emerging cultures, non-fiction plays an indisputably primary role—that of the gathering and recording and reiteration of communal data, the stories of "who we are and what has happened to us," to establish collective identity and inscribe it in the public record. This task accomplished, a mature culture then turns to the tasks of the imagination, reshaping the primary materials of experience through the exigencies of psychology and form: the novel, the play, the poem, and the "I."

I've been thinking about these distinctions again as Ukrainian Canadians come to the end of our prolonged centennial celebrations, for one hundred years is enough time, it would appear, for a culture to have gone through the phases I've outlined. We Ukrainian Canadians have had our historians and archivists, memoirists and diarists, right up to and including the "new journalists" of the 1970s (Keywan, Kostash, Potrebenco), all of whom have been concerned to "get it all down" (namely the account of their parents' and grandparents' lives). Vera

Lysenko's *Yellow Boots*, George Ryga's short stories, and Andrew Suknaski's poetry are not necessarily an exception to the rule for they are profoundly documentary in their intention ("get it all down").

We can now expect, surveying the Ukrainian Canadian literary landscape, to see a new generation of post-centennial writers who are free to take up now more strictly literary tasks, the prior obligation of documenting lives having been discharged by the older writers. And so, if we look at the line-up of writing in the special Ukrainian Canadian edition of *Prairie Fire* magazine (Autumn 1992), we find, for example, Angela Hryniuk's post-modern polyphony, Rhonda Bruchanski's erotica, Nika Rylski's satirical cabaret. Such material may or may not be "ethnic" in content or theme but even so is more concerned with working out formal problems ("how do I say this?") and making use in this deconstructionist age of whatever formal materials are to hand: documents, theatrics, point of view, confession, fragment, lexicons....

Gloria Kupchenko Frolick is represented in *Prairie Fire* by some poems but she is better known as the author of short stories, *The Green Tomato Years* (1985), and of a novella, *The Chicken Man* (1989), both published by Williams-Wallace. In 1992 she published a second novella, *Anna Veryha*. A native of Vegreville, Alberta, and the granddaughter of Ukrainian immigrants, Kupchenko Frolick makes use of this girlhood "memory bank" to narrate, simply and agreeably, tales of a community which carry a certain darkness on the underside of nostalgia and reverie. She employs no particular stylistic tricks yet there is something nudging at her folksy material which makes it more interesting than we might expect. In my little schema of pre- and post-centennial writers, I would place her as a transitional figure, as one who is still concerned with the data of rural ethnic experience but who has caught them at the moment of their shift to the modern.

Through the sensibility of the eponymous heroine of *Anna Veryha*, we are present at the birth of Ukrainian Canadian desire for the other, the not-us, the wide world that has begun to impinge on the consciousness of the bloc settlers. The world of the city, the mass media, the "anglo" or cosmopolitan lifestyle, and the New Woman. In a word, the Canadian. But this desire remains embedded in the ethnic, and in this arises the tension of the tale.

It is Anna's older sister, Dotsia, who articulates the desire and the shift. She is preparing for her departmental (grade twelve) exams and dares not fail. "Anna, I've just got to pass. I've got to," she confesses at the cream separator. "I've got to get away from this farm. I hate it." As icons of the world away-from-here she has pinned up posters of Deanna Durban and Mahatma Gandhi on her bedroom wall—twinning polarities of female and male achievement. Dotsia and Anna share the same daydream of the "dream house" in which they will live as grown-ups: white with green shutters and organdy curtains "like in Anne of Green Gables." An actually-existing dream house has been built by the very successful family, the Melnyks, who have not only seven sons and an entire section of land but also the post office concession. Mrs Melnyk is the *hospodynia* of the well-appointed house that goes along with such status: the varnished kitchen cupboards, the pink brocade of the sofa, the coffee and end tables, and so on. We are a long way from the *burdei*; we are, in fact, halfway to the big town of the next generation's destiny. (Premonitorily, Baba has already moved off the farm to live in a bungalow by herself in Vegreville). Anna's cousin Victoria, who arrives from



Edmonton for the Easter weekend, is the perfect embodiment of what lies ahead for the girls once they have made their getaway: independence (Victoria has a profession and is unmarried), femininity (perfume, silk stockings, shining hair), and ease (Victoria's hands are white and "smooth as silk" and she plays tennis). There is a suggestion that Victoria is already a little awkward with the traditional observances but passes without difficulty as "anglo" in the city.

But Anna and Dotsia are as much pushed *from* the farm as pulled *towards* the town by the harsh patriarchy of their family and community. Their father is domineering and humourless and demands obedience from his female household; their mother, an obedient worker, counsels submission to her daughters, and everyone hopes that the baby she is carrying is a boy. The local scandal that exercises the family concerns a young widower who "shacks up" with a (gasp!) French Canadian who wears perfume in the middle of the day. When Dotsia swears that she will never get married, we understand that this too is part of her getaway.

The girls will leave the farm. They will study. They will travel. Their daughters will write about them—with shifting points of view.

Myrna Kostash  
Edmonton

Jars Balan and G.N. Louise Jonasson, eds. *Prairie Fire* 13, no. 3 (Autumn 1992). Pp. 224. Illustrations.

This issue of *Prairie Fire* marks the one hundredth anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada by collecting and publishing work by writers and visual artists who are genetically or spiritually linked with Ukraine. Editor Jars Balan explains "Ukrainian Canada," the idea behind the volume, "not as a specific place, with neatly-demarcated borders, but as a state of mind and a product of the imagination." Balan sought out beginning writers as well as established ones like Andrew Suknaski, Myrna Kostash, Janice Kulyk Keefer, and Di Brandt. The contributors also include non-Ukrainians in order to reflect the diversity of both Canada and the polyethnic history and spirit of the newly independent territory of Ukraine. In a Europe haunted by a history of racism and divided by civil wars of ethnic cleansing, the recognition of ethnic diversity within countries is an important step for future social harmony. This experience of revolution and war is behind many of the narratives and poems and much of the artwork in this volume. Ray Serwylo's story, "The White of the Lie," traces the wandering of Ukrainians from refugee camps in Europe to Canada and Australia. The excerpts from Ann Decter's novel deal with Russian Jews escaping persecution to come to Canada as farmers. Gloria Kupchenko Frolick's poems are dedicated to a dead Ukrainian flyer. Orysia Paszczak Tracz's story, "Mama's War," recalls the experiences with bitter nostalgia. "They, and I lived, in a DP camp for four years, until a new land across an ocean welcomed us. Only after Stalin's death in 1953 was postal contact resumed with the Soviet Union" (182).

We never cease to be shocked by the suffering caused by old grudges and institutionalized hatreds. The atrocities referred to in Elisabeth Nesterenko



Kuiken's story, "Hidden Passages," are horrifying. These stories and poems are movingly written but are all the more powerful because we know they are based on the real-life experiences of Ukrainian families. For these writers there is little need to invent escapist fantasy since they have the real-life escapes of relatives and friends to retell. The task of the ethnic minority writer is to make these stories accessible to other Canadians, to make them emotionally charged without being melodramatic. For the most part these writers have been very successful in this task. Anna Mioduchowska in her sketch, "Sandie and Pedro are Having a Multicultural Baby or, Small-Breasted Warriors," is able to capture the suffering of immigrants with some humour and subtle political commentary. Here again people are forced to cross the borders of different languages: Polish, Ukrainian, Russian...English, French, Spanish.

For the ethnic minority writer literature is not produced from other literature but from the real experiences of dislocation, marginalization, and discrimination. There is always a social and political dimension to this writing, a quality found in many of the pieces in this collection. Angela Hryniuk nostalgically recreates a Winnipeg childhood and reflects: "Feminists want to re-create the world. Invent the story of *woman*, because we do not exist, except in Man's point of view. My grandmothers and great grandmothers were all so physically and wilfully strong. True matriarchs. Yet late in the twentieth century we are still trying to define woman, as she is in all her diversity, dynamism and splendour" (64). Powerful scenes from the lives of women are captured in many sketches: Kathie Kolybaba's "Exercise in Pink," Myrna Kostash's "Family Album," and Janice Kulyk Keefer's four poems on immigration to Canada.

The reprinting of Vera Lysenko's seminal novel, *Yellow Boots*, highlights the growing interest in the work of minority women writers. The story of the ethnic Canadian is only now being told and listened to; it will take a long time to explore its many voices and faces. By consciously publishing the work of new writers along with established ones, this issue of *Prairie Fire* has contributed to our understanding of ethnic diversity in Canada. For many artists moving forward is achieved by moving back to family roots. This collection reminds us of this in the lives of many people. This pattern is captured in the archetypal moment of Myrna Kostash upon her return to her grandmother's village: "For a second or two, I fail to rise to the occasion, unprepared as I am for a ritual I have seen enacted only on stage, at Ukrainian-Canadian concerts; but here, in Dzhuriv, in baba's village, this gesture of the offering of bread and salt to the guest, ancient and habitual benedictions from the earth, is being repeated in real life, by real Ukrainians, and handed over to me, granddaughter of the beloved young woman who left and never came back" (83).

In our search for the distinctive qualities that identify Canadian literature we often get swept up into nationalist rhetoric and views of social homogeneity. Ukrainian Canadian writing, Italian Canadian writing, and the writing of other ethnic groups all remind us about the very important dimension of cultural difference in Canadian society and literature.

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# Contributors

JARS BALAN is an independent scholar, freelance writer, poet, and literary translator. He most recently edited a special issue of the literary journal *Prairie Fire* (Fall 1992), entitled *Echoes from Ukrainian Canada*. The author of a popular history on Ukrainians in Canada and many scholarly and journalistic articles on Ukrainian Canadian literature, he is currently concentrating his research efforts on the evolution of Ukrainian-language theatre in the New World.

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SERGE CIPKO is a Ph.D. student in the Department of History, University of Alberta. A specialist in Ukrainian settlements abroad, his doctoral dissertation is on the emigration of Ukrainians into Argentina between the two world wars. The author of both popular and scholarly articles on diverse Ukrainian themes, he has twice been a visiting lecturer on Ukrainian History and Civilization at the Ukrainian Studies Centre, Macquarie University, in Sydney, Australia.

DR. OLEH GERUS is an Associate Professor in the Department of History at the University of Manitoba. He was responsible for editing, updating, and expanding Dmytro Doroshenko's *Survey of Ukrainian History* (reprinted 1984), and co-editing four volumes of scholarly essays published between 1976 and 1989. A specialist in Modern Ukrainian Church History, Modern Russian and Soviet History, and the History of Ukrainians in Canada, he has contributed numerous articles and reviews on these topics to academic publications and periodicals.

ALEXANDRA KRUCHKA GLYNN is a Ph.D. student in the Department of English, University of Alberta, where she recently completed an M.A. thesis on the Ukrainian Canadian writer, Vera Lysenko. Articles by her about Lysenko have appeared in *A Feminist Companion to Literature in English* (1989), and in a recent issue of the *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* (Summer 1990). Her field of special interest is Ukrainian Canadian writing in English.

DR. LEONID LESCHENKO is a graduate of the Department of International Relations at Kiev State University. The author of four monographs and approximately sixty scholarly articles, as well as essays and reviews, a book by him on the farmers' movement in Canada (1900-1939) was published in 1979. Currently a Department Head (Foreign Policy Concepts) at the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, he is also a visiting professor at Kiev State University.

MYRON MOMRYK holds an M.A. in Canadian history from the University of Waterloo. He is Head, Multicultural Archives, Manuscript Division, at the National Archives of Canada, Ottawa. Besides organizing and cataloguing many of the Ukrainian collections at the archives, he has contributed articles and reviews on Ukrainian Canadian history to a variety of journals and periodicals. He has done extensive research on the Ukrainian Canadian politician Michael Starr, and he continues to investigate the experience of Canadian volunteers in the International Brigades during the Spanish Civil War.

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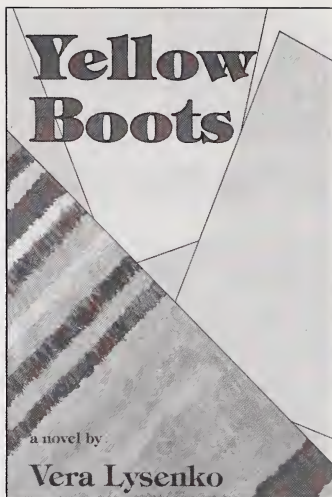
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